

The SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

VOLUME VI

MARCH 1932

NUMBER 1

CONSTITUTIONAL LIMITATIONS AFFECTING STATE AND LOCAL RELIEF FUNDS

THE extensive suffering from unemployment during the period of industrial and economic depression has caused a rapidly increasing demand on public funds for relief of persons in distress. This condition makes important a thorough understanding of the ability of the various governmental units to provide such relief. The ability of local units or a state to provide funds may be controlled either by definite limitations in the constitution of the individual state, which prevent the giving of aid, or by the legal and economic possibility of raising sufficient funds by taxation or through the issue of bonds. The ability of local units to give aid to suffering individuals may be quite unequal. There is often a wide variance in the resources of the local units within a state; the constitutional limitations upon local units may not seriously affect the ability of one unit to give aid, whereas the other unit may be entirely prevented from giving aid; and, therefore, both state and local provisions and resources must be taken into consideration in any plan to make aid equally available to citizens throughout the state. The purpose of this paper is to discuss only one aspect of the pertinent problem—the extent to which constitutional limitations may affect the more immediate granting of relief to persons in need of aid.

The constitutional limitations, herein considered, which affect the granting of aid are of two general types. One prohibits the local

units or the state to appropriate, grant, or donate money in aid of any individual, and the other prohibits the local units or the state to incur indebtedness for such aid. This means, that under the former limitation, the local units or the state are unable to pay from current funds any money for direct and immediate relief of needy persons other than those who are usually considered as paupers; and that, under the latter limitation, these units or the state may not issue bonds or other evidence of indebtedness for the purpose of raising money for such relief.

It is to be noted that the restriction on appropriating money in direct aid of individuals is the more significant of the two limitations, because, in the absence of this limitation, the local units or the state could furnish ready relief to needy individuals during the present emergency from current available funds. By this method the need for relief could be much more readily met than with the more complicated process of raising money through a bond issue or by taxation. In this connection, it is worth noting that five states have by recent legislation appropriated large sums of money from state funds for emergency or unemployment relief.¹ In two of these states the money necessary to finance the relief is raised by taxation, New York increasing the income tax and Oklahoma adding to the gasoline tax. The state of Pennsylvania has made a specific appropriation to the state department of welfare to be used for relief.² In New Jersey, the money is obtained by transfer of other state funds and from licensing or taxing of motor vehicles; and Rhode Island makes a direct appropriation for financing relief through local units.

It would seem that the constitutional limitations, which appear to bar relief to needy persons, were originally intended merely to safeguard the local units or states against exploitation by individuals, as well as by corporations, for purposes of private business or enterprise; and the supreme courts of at least four states have thus interpreted the original intent of the limitations.³ In one of these states,

¹ New Jersey, New York, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island.

² A county court in this state has recently held this law constitutional as being "clearly an exercise of the police power" for the benefit of the poor of the state.

³ Ky., *Hager v. Kentucky Children's Home Society*, 119 Ky. 235, 83 S.W. 605; Mo., *Jasper County Farm Bureau v. Jasper County*, 286 S.W. 381; Mont., *State ex rel. Cryderman v. Wienrich*, 54 Mont. 390, 170 Pac. 942; N.D., *State v. Nelson County*, 1 N.D. 88, 45 N.W. 33.

North Dakota, the supreme court, in holding constitutional a law in aid of destitute farmers, said that the restrictive words in the constitution: "Were intended to prevent the loan of aid to individuals or corporations, for the purpose of fostering business enterprises, either of a public or private nature." The pertinent judicial expressions in the three other states are to the same effect.

The judicial reasoning is worth noting in those cases in which the constitutionality of measures for the protection of the health and welfare of the people is attacked as not being within the police power of the state. The weight of authority in these cases is in favor of the constitutionality of such laws, the courts generally holding that the pertinent constitutional limitations must be interpreted in the light of human progress and the changes in more modern social and economic conditions.¹ The Supreme Court of the United States, speaking by Mr. Justice Holmes, has said that the police power: ". . . May be put forth in aid of what is sanctioned by usage, or held by the prevailing morality or strong and preponderant opinion to be greatly and immediately necessary to the public welfare." The supreme court of Ohio, in the case cited, declared that: ". . . The growth of the police power must from time to time conform to the growth of our social, industrial, and commercial life." In this connection the following, quoted from an opinion in a leading case, decided by the supreme court of North Dakota,² will also be of interest, because in that case the pertinent law was attacked as being violative of a constitutional limitation of the character discussed herein:

This review of legislation in aid of destitute farmers will serve to illustrate the well-known fact that legislation under the pressure of a public sentiment, born of stern necessity, will adopt itself to new exigencies, even if in doing so a sanction is given to a broader application of elementary principles of government than have before been recognized and applied by the courts in adjudicated cases. It is the boast of the common law that it is elastic, and can be adjusted to the development of new social and business conditions. Can a statute enacted for such broadly humane and charitable purposes be annulled by another branch of the government as an abuse of legislative discretion? We think otherwise. Great deference is due from the courts to the legislative branch of the state government, and it is axiomatic that in cases of doubt the courts will never interfere to annul a statute.

¹ See, for example: *Noble State Bank v. Haskell*, 219 U.S. 104, 111; *Leonard v. State*, 100 Ohio St. 456, 127 N.E. 464.

² *State v. Nelson County*, 1 N.D. 88, 45 N.W. 33.

CARL A. HEISTERMAN

In some of the states both types of the particular limitations discussed are found in the same section of the constitution, whereas in some other states each type is covered in a separate section. The limitation upon the state is sometimes also found in a section other than that imposing a similar limitation upon the local units. It has been pointed out that the limitations against appropriation of funds in direct aid of individuals are different in effect from those against extending credit for such aid, and that both state and local provisions and resources must be considered so as to equalize aid to the needy citizens throughout a state; and the two types of limitations are, therefore, presented separately herein.

Some of the states have excepted aid to the poor or for certain special classes, such as the blind, aged, orphans, and veterans, from either or both of the pertinent limitations and have incorporated this exception in the section containing such limitations. It is important to note this, because the courts, in construing such a section, may hold that the exception in favor of the poor is intended to apply to persons now in distress by reason of unemployment or other conditions beyond their control. The constitution of North Dakota, for example, excepts the "reasonable support of the poor"; and the supreme court of that state said, in the case cited herein: ". . . We believe, and so hold, that the class referred to in the exception . . . is the poor and destitute farmers of the State. . . ." The support of the poor is specifically authorized by the constitution of some of the other states, but in a section separate from that containing the limitation. Such an authorization has a definite bearing on the limitation because, when construed therewith, it appears to be an exception to the limitation. Here, again, the exception may afford relief to the many needy at the present time; and at least one state court, the supreme court of Montana, has rendered a liberal decision on this point.¹ This court, in holding constitutional a law for the relief of destitute farmers, said: ". . . The restrictions . . . had and were designed to have no reference whatever to suitable measures, elsewhere commanded, for the relief of the poor."

¹ *State ex rel. Cryderman v. Wienrich, op. cit.*

STATE AND LOCAL APPROPRIATIONS

1. *Limitations on state relief.*—The constitutions of thirteen states contain definite limitations on state aid to individuals. These states are: Arizona, California, Colorado, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, New Mexico, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, Texas, and Wyoming. Four of these states, however, California, New Mexico, North Dakota, and Wyoming, exempt therefrom aid to the poor or to certain special classes of needy persons, and one (Pennsylvania) exempts pensions or gratuities for military service.¹

In six states limitations on state aid to individuals appear to be absolute.² The following pertinent provision in the constitution of Colorado will illustrate the type of constitutional limitations here considered: "No appropriation shall be made for charitable, industrial, educational or benevolent purposes to any person, corporation, or community not under the absolute control of the State. . . ." Substantially identical provisions are found in the constitutions of Louisiana and Montana, the latter state also prohibiting donations or grants "by subsidy or otherwise." Arizona prohibits the state from making any donation or grant, by subsidy or otherwise, to any individual, association, or corporation; Georgia prohibits the granting of any donation or gratuity in favor of any person; and Texas declares that no appropriation for private or individual purposes shall be made and that the legislature shall not grant public money to any individual.

Among the four states which exempt aid to the poor from the limitations, New Mexico and Wyoming have constitutional limitations practically identical with those heretofore noted for Colorado. These two states, however, in other parts of their constitution, also prohibit "donations" in aid of individuals; but New Mexico adds that this shall not "prohibit the state or any county or municipality from making provisions for the care and maintenance of sick and indigent persons," and Wyoming makes an exception "for necessary support

¹ Calif., art. iv, secs. 22, 31; N.M., art. iv, sec. 31, art. ix, sec. 14; N.D., art. xii, sec. 185; Pa., art. iii, sec. 18; Wyo., art. iii, sec. 36; art. xvi, sec. 6.

² Ariz., art. ix, sec. 7; Colo., art. v, sec. 34; Ga., art. vii, sec. 16; La., art. iv, secs. 8, 12; Mont., art. v, sec. 35, art. xiii, sec. 1; Tex., art. iii, sec. 51, art. xvi, sec. 6.

of the poor." North Dakota prohibits the state or any local subdivision thereof from making "donations" in aid of any individual but also makes an exception "for reasonable support of the poor." With respect to exemptions in favor of certain special classes, California prohibits the legislature from making, or authorizing the making, of any gift of any public money or thing of value to any individual; but the state may aid in local outdoor and institutional relief of orphans and certain other dependent children and may also aid needy blind, physically handicapped, or indigent aged persons, and war veterans.

Mississippi and Missouri also make pertinent qualifications of the limitations. In Mississippi (art. iv, sec. 66), no law granting a donation or gratuity in favor of any person may be enacted, except with concurrence of two-thirds of all the members of the legislature. Missouri (art. iv, sec. 46) prohibits any grant of public money or thing of value to any individual, association of individuals, municipal or other corporation; but permits aid in case of "public calamity."¹

It is also to be noted that some of the foregoing states by other constitutional provisions expressly authorize aid to special classes of needy persons, such as mothers with dependent children, the blind, the aged, and war veterans.²

While the constitutions of Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, North Dakota, and Pennsylvania prohibit state appropriations to or in aid of individuals, the fact is that in all these states, by statute, state funds have been made available for aid to certain special classes. The states of Arizona, New Mexico, and Pennsylvania are authorized by statute to contribute funds in aid of mothers, either directly, as in Arizona, or through the counties, as in New Mexico and Pennsylvania. In Colorado, state aid is given to the blind; and in North Dakota, state funds are provided for soldiers' bonus.

¹ It is interesting to note that the legislature of Missouri, in making an appropriation of \$250,000 for relief of its drought-stricken citizens, declared the drought of 1930 "a public calamity," within the meaning of "section 46 of article IV of the Constitution of Missouri."—See *Laws of 1931*, p. 205. In this state a constitutional provision on granting aid by local units exempts granting of "pensions to the deserving blind," and is broad enough to permit such pensions from the state.—Art. iv, sec. 47.

² Calif. (all 4 classes, as has been noted), art. iv, sec. 22; La. (mothers' pensions), art. xviii, sec. 5, p. 267; Mo. (the blind, and soldiers' bonus), art. iv, secs. 44b, 44c, 47.

The question of the constitutionality of such measures as old age pensions and relief of families through mothers' aid, as well as certain other public relief measures, has been raised in some of the states here considered; and a few of the pertinent court decisions are cited below.

In Pennsylvania, the constitution provides that:

No appropriations, except for pensions or gratuities for military services, shall be made for charitable, educational or benevolent purposes, to any person or community, nor to any denominational or sectarian institution, corporation or association.—Art. iii, sec. 18.

The supreme court of Pennsylvania held the old age assistance act of 1923 (P.L. 189) unconstitutional, as in violation of the above section (*Busser v. Snyder* [1925] 282 Pa. St. 440, 128 Atl. 80, 37 A.L.R. 1515). The court said, in part, that the words "person" and "community"

are not limited to the idea of a single person or place where persons are located; they are used in an inclusive sense, relating to an individual or a group or class of persons, wherever situated, in any part or all of the commonwealth. It applies to persons, kind, class, and place, without qualification. The language of the constitution is an absolute and general prohibition.

The court stated, however, that appropriations of money for the care of "indigent, infirm, and mentally defective, including certain physically defective, persons," may be sustained on the theory that it is a duty of the state government for its own preservation and protection. It held that the law in question could not be sustained on the theory that it is a poor law, because: "The term 'poor,' as used by the lawmakers, describes those who are destitute and helpless, unable to support themselves, and without means of support."

There have been several court decisions on the constitutionality and validity of mothers' pension laws.¹ The theory on which such laws are held constitutional is expressed by the supreme court of North Dakota in the leading case of *Cass County v. Nixon*. The court said:

The persons, in fact the real and actual recipients of the protection and benefits conferred . . . , are indigent minors of tender years, (whose mothers are unable) to supply such minors with (the) absolute necessities of life. . . .

¹ *Cass County v. Nixon*, 35 N.D. 601, 161 N.W. 204; *In re Walker*, 193 N.W. 250; *State v. Klasen*, 123 Minn. 382, 143 N.W. 984; *Denver, etc., R. Co. v. Grand County*, 51 Utah 294, 170 Pac. 74; *In re Snyder*, 93 Wash. 59, 160 Pac. 12; *State Board of Control v. Buckstegge*, 18 Ariz. 277, 158 Pac. 837.

And the court adds, in effect, that such minors are proper subjects of state or local guardianship. In a later case (*In re Walker*) the same court reasoned that such a law was not in any sense a poor relief act to aid a certain class of indigent adult persons, but that:

The pension awarded under the law is rather in the nature of a compensation for services rendered to the State in bringing up its future citizens in proper surroundings and giving them the proper care.

The supreme court of Colorado has held that the pertinent constitutional provision (heretofore quoted) prohibits an appropriation "for the relief of destitute farmers" in certain counties (*In re Relief Bills*, 21 Colo. 62, 39 Pac. 1089, 1091).¹

The constitutionality of statutory measures for direct state relief of needy individuals during the present emergency is a matter of conjecture. Apparently no court decision exactly in point has, as yet, been rendered in the thirteen states considered, except as noted for Pennsylvania.²

As has been pointed out, it is possible that the constitutionality of a relief measure to meet the emergencies of a particular state may be upheld by the courts on the ground that such a measure is for the public health, safety, and welfare of the people, as well as for the protection of the state, and is therefore constitutional because within the police power inherent in the legislature of the state. This view apparently finds support in judicial construction of the term "police power" by eminent authority.

The thought that pertinent emergency measures for public relief may be constitutional on the ground that they fall within the police power of the state finds further support in recent legislative expressions appearing in emergency relief legislation in Missouri, New York, and Pennsylvania. The legislature of Missouri declares the law (*Laws of 1931*, p. 205) to be "necessary for the preservation of the public peace, health, and safety"; and the New York legislature in its comprehensive law, appropriating \$20,000,000 for public relief (*Laws of 1931*, chap. 798) declares, in part, that:

¹ Certain decisions upholding the constitutionality of measures for incurring indebtedness for similar relief are noted later.

² In Mississippi, however, the concurrence of two-thirds of the members of each branch of the legislature might permit a vote for direct appropriations for public relief; and, in Missouri, the interpretation of the constitutional term "calamity" might be held to be a matter for legislative determination.

The public health and safety of the State and of each county, city, and town therein being imperiled by the existing and threatened deprivation of a considerable number of their inhabitants of the necessities of life, owing to the present economic depression, such condition is hereby declared to be a matter of public concern, state and local, and the correction thereof to be a state, county, city and town purpose, the consummation of which requires, as a necessary incident, the furnishing of public aid to individuals. . . . This act, therefore, is declared to be a measure for the public health and safety and occasioned by an existing emergency.

In the preamble to the law of Pennsylvania (*Laws of 1931*, No. 70, ex.sess.), the legislature declares that:

Present conditions of unemployment aggravate the normal situation facing public authorities charged with the care of the poor, impose a burden which local government is unable to bear, and demand the exercise of the police power of the Commonwealth for the protection of the public health, safety, morals and welfare and the assumption by the Commonwealth of its governmental duty to care for the poor.

2. *Limitations on local relief.*—The constitutions of seven states contain definite limitations on aid to individuals by counties, cities, and towns, for which there are no exceptions as to giving relief to the poor or other needy persons, nor do the constitutions of these states contain other provisions expressly authorizing counties to support their poor.¹ The constitutional limitation upon local units either expressly forbids any county, city, town, or other subdivision of the state to appropriate money or make any donation or grant to or in aid of any individual, association, or corporation, or expressly forbids legislation to authorize such action. Three states have similar constitutional limitations but make exemptions which have a limited application: Missouri exempts blind pensions, and Louisiana and Texas provide in the constitution for public indoor (institutional) relief.²

In ten other states, the constitutions also prohibit local units from extending aid to individuals; but, in six of these states, the constitutional limitations are qualified by specific exemptions in favor of the

¹ Ariz., art. ix, sec. 7; Ark., art. xii, sec. 5; Colo., art. xi, sec. 2; Del., art. viii, sec. 8; Ky., sec. 179 N.J., art. I, sec. 19; Pa., art. ix, sec. 7.

² Mo., art. iv, sec. 47; La., art. iv, sec. 12; Tex., art. iii, secs. 51, 52, art. xi, sec. 2, and art. xvi, sec. 8.

poor,¹ and in four states, in other parts of the constitutions, the local units are specifically authorized to support the poor.²

In this connection, it may be of interest to note seven states which also have constitutional authorization for poor relief, although these states do not have the limitation on local aid to individuals.³ In three of these (Indiana, Michigan, and Mississippi) the constitutional authorization covers only indoor relief.

With reference to support of the poor, it is safe to assume that, in the absence of any constitutional provision authorizing counties or other local units⁴ to support their poor, such local units have an inherent right and duty to support their public charges. Here again the police power, inherent in the legislature and the state, as well as in its local units, may be deemed to include the power to protect and relieve needy citizens, as given judicial expression in at least three court decisions.⁵ A Connecticut court held in substance that the prevention of any person from suffering for the necessities of life is a legitimate exercise of governmental power. The supreme court of Pennsylvania, in the course of its opinion on the constitutionality of an old age pension law, said:

. . . . There is no direct prohibition against the use of State money to pay for the care and maintenance of indigent, infirm, and mentally defective persons, without ability or means to sustain themselves, and other charges of a like nature. They become direct charges on the body politic for its own preservation and protection. As such in the light of an expense, they stand in the same position as the preservation of law and order.

¹ Ga., art. vii, sec. 6(1); N.M., art. ix, sec. 14; N.Y., art. viii, sec. 10; N.D., art. xii, sec. 285; Wash., art. viii, sec. 7; Wyo., art. xvi, sec. 6.

² Ala., art. iv, secs. 88, 94; Fla., art. ix, sec. 10, art. xiii, sec. 3; Mont., art. x, sec. 5, art. xiii, sec. 1; Okla., art. x, sec. 17, art. xvii, sec. 3.

³ These states are: Ind., art. ix, sec. 3; Kan., art. vii, sec. 4; Mich., art. viii, secs. 11, 22; Miss., art. xiv, sec. 262; Nev., art. xiii, sec. 3; N.C., art. xi, sec. 7; S.C., art. xii, sec. 3.

⁴ With the exception of North Carolina, where the constitutional provision for support of the poor is general, all of the states, listed as having constitutional authorization for poor relief, place the burden of such relief on the local unit. The constitutions apply the duty of poor relief only to "counties" or other local subdivisions.

⁵ *Hamden v. New Haven*, 91 Conn. 589; 101 Atl. 11; *Busser et al v. Snyder*, 282 Pa. 440, 128 Atl. 80; *Fox v. Kendall*, 97 Ill. 72.

And the Illinois court, in considering a statute shifting support of the poor from the county to the township, said:

The General Assembly, we apprehend, have the undeniable right to impose the support of paupers on counties, cities, incorporated villages, or townships, as it may choose. This is a portion of the police power that may be exercised by that body according to its wisdom and sense of right. . . .

The foregoing would warrant the conclusion that, despite any constitutional limitations against granting aid to individuals, a statutory measure for the relief of the poor by local units is constitutional as a proper exercise of the police power of the legislature. From a social viewpoint, the constitutional limitations on aid by local units are relatively unimportant, because the fact is that the local units in practically all of the states listed are actually granting poor relief.

STATE AND LOCAL BORROWING

The constitutional provisions against the borrowing of funds include three types of limitations:

1. Limitations on the extension of credit through loan or pledge by the state to any of its local units.
2. Limitations on the extension of credit through loan or pledge by (a) the state and (b) the local units to any individual, corporation, or association.
3. Limitations on the amount of indebtedness which states or local units may incur.

It is to be noted that in some of the states these constitutional limitations are made inapplicable to certain public purposes, or indebtedness is permitted under other constitutional provisions for such items as the building of roads and public structures, for soldiers' and sailors' homes and support, for educational purposes, for refunding of bonds, and also in cases of war, invasion, and insurrection.

The following constitutional provisions in some of the states are illustrative of those found in the constitutions of the other states:

California: "The Legislature shall have no power to give or lend, or to authorize the giving or lending, of the credit of the State, or of any county, city and county, city, township or other political corporation or subdivision of the State now existing, . . . in aid of or to any person, association, or corporation,

whether municipal or otherwise, or to pledge the credit thereof, in any manner whatever, for the payment of the liabilities of any individual, association, municipal or other corporation whatever. . . ."—Art. iv, sec. 31.

Colorado: "Neither the state nor any county, city, town, township or school district shall lend or pledge the credit or faith thereof, directly or indirectly, in any manner to or in aid of any person, company or corporation, public or private, for any amount or for any purpose whatever, or become responsible for any debt, contract or liability of any person, company or corporation, public or private, in or out of the state."—Art. xi, sec. 1.

Delaware: "No appropriation of the public money shall be made to, nor the bonds of this State be issued or loaned to any county, municipality or corporation, nor shall the credit of the State, by the guarantee or the endorsement of the bonds or other undertakings of any county, municipality or corporation, be pledged otherwise than pursuant to an Act of the General Assembly, passed with the concurrence of $\frac{4}{5}$ ths of all the members elected to each House."—Art. viii, sec. 4.

"No county, city, town or other municipality shall lend its credit or appropriate money to, or assume the debt of . . . any corporation or any person or company whatever."—Art. viii, sec. 8.

New York: "No county, city, town or village shall hereafter give any money or property, or loan its money or credit to or in aid of any individual, association or corporation . . . ; nor shall any such county, city, town or village be allowed to incur any indebtedness except for county, city, town or village purposes. This section shall not prevent such county, city, town or village from making such provision for the aid or support of its poor as may be authorized by law. . . ."—Art. viii, sec. 10.

Nebraska: "The credit of the State shall never be given or loaned in aid of any individual, association, or corporation."—Art. xiii, sec. 3.

1. *Credit from the state to local units.*—The constitutions of twenty-two states¹ expressly prohibit the extending of state credit to or in aid of, and/or the assuming of any liability of, the various local units. New Mexico, with similar limitations, provides that these shall not "prohibit the state or any county or municipality from making provisions for the care and maintenance of sick and indigent persons."²

¹ Calif., art. iv, sec. 31; Colo., art. xi, sec. 1; Del., art. viii, sec. 4; Ga., art. vii, sec. 8(1); Idaho, art. viii, sec. 2; Ill., art. iv, sec. 20; Ind., art. x, sec. 6; Ky., secs. 157a, 177; La., art. iv, sec. 12; Mich., art. x, sec. 12; Mo., art. iv, sec. 45; Mont., art. xiii, sec. 4; Nev., art. ix, sec. 4; Ohio, art. viii, sec. 5; Okla., art. x, secs. 14, 15; Ore., art. xi, sec. 8; Pa., art. ix, sec. 9; Tenn., art. ii, sec. 31; Tex., art. iii, sec. 50; Utah, art. xiv, sec. 6; Va., art. xiii, sec. 185; W.Va., art. x, sec. 6.

² N.M., art. ix, sec. 14.

The list in Table I shows the application of the constitutional limitations in each state.

2. Credit from the state or local units to individuals, associations or corporations.—In most of the states the constitutions expressly prohibit the state from granting its credit to or in aid of any individual,

TABLE I

State	Local Unit	*No Credit To Be Given	*No Debt To Be Assumed
California.....	Municipalities	*	*
Colorado.....	Public corporation	*	*
Delaware.....	Counties, municipalities	*	†*
Georgia.....	County, municipality, political subdivision	.....	*
Idaho.....	Municipalities	*	.....
Illinois.....	Public corporation	*	*
Indiana.....	County, city, town, township	.....	*
Kentucky.....	Municipality or political subdivision	.....	.....
Louisiana.....	"Political," public, and municipal corporation	*	*
Michigan.....	Public corporation	*	.....
Missouri.....	Municipalities	*	*
Montana.....	County, city, town, or municipal corporation	.....	*
Nevada.....	County, town, city	.....	*
Ohio.....	County, city, town, or township	.....	*
Oklahoma.....	County, municipality, or political subdivision	*	*
Oregon†.....	County, town, "or other corporation"	.....	*
Pennsylvania.....	City, county, borough, township	.....	*
Tennessee.....	Municipalities	*	.....
Texas.....	Municipalities	*	*
Utah.....	County, city, town	.....	*
Virginia.....	County, city, town	*	*
West Virginia.....	County, city, township	*	*

† Delaware: State cannot pledge the bonds of such local units, except by specific legislative authority of three-fourths of all members of the legislature.

‡ Oregon: Under this section, the supreme court of this state has held that the legislature may make an appropriation to a city where most of the private and public property was destroyed by fire, to enable the city to pay interest on bonds to be issued for reconstruction of the public property, and to create a sinking fund for the retirement of the bonds.—*Kinney v. Astoria*, 108 Ore. 514, 217 p. 840.

association, or corporation; and some of the states also prohibit the legislature from authorizing local units so to extend their credit.¹

It is found that, under the constitution of thirty-four states,² credit

¹ In Delaware the limitation applies only to local units. In Nevada and Utah the limitation does not apply to the class of individuals here considered; and in Ohio the limitation applies to "individual associations."

² Ala., art. iv, sec. 93; Ariz., art. ix, sec. 7; Ark., art. xvi, sec. 1, as amended in 1926; Calif., art. iv, sec. 31; Colo., art. xi, sec. 1; Fla., art. ix, sec. 10; Ga., art. vii, sec. 5(1); Idaho, art. viii, sec. 2; Ill., art. iv, sec. 20; Ind., art. xi, sec. 12; Iowa, art. vii, sec. 1; Ky., sec. 177; La., art. iv, sec. 12; Me., art. ix, sec. 14; Md., art. iii, sec. 34; Mass., art. lxii;

may not be lent or extended by the state to, or in aid of, any individual, association, or corporation. In New Mexico, North Dakota, and Wyoming, similar limitations are imposed but with exceptions as to support of the poor.¹

With respect to constitutional limitations applicable to the local jurisdictions, it is found that in eighteen of the foregoing thirty-seven states, and also in Delaware, the constitutions either expressly forbid any county² or other local unit to give, lend, or pledge its credit to or in aid of any individual, association, or corporation, or expressly forbid the legislatures to authorize such action.³ In seven other states similar limitations are imposed but with pertinent exceptions.⁴

These exceptions are, in effect, as follows: In Georgia the limitation upon local units does not apply where the credit or appropriation is for "purely charitable purposes." New Mexico provides that the limitation shall not prohibit the state or the local units from "making provisions for the care of sick and indigent persons." New York permits counties, cities, towns, and villages to provide for the poor. In North Dakota and Wyoming the state or the local units, and, in Washington, the local units, may not extend their credit in aid of any person, except for the support of the poor. In South Carolina, local bonds may not be issued, except for certain purposes, which include the support of paupers.

The constitutions in some states specifically authorize the local

Mich., art. x, sec. 12; Minn., art. ix, sec. 10; Miss., art. xiv, sec. 258; Mo., art. iv, sec. 45; Mont., art. xiii, sec. 1; Neb., art. xiii, sec. 3; N.J., art. iv, sec. 6(3); N.Y., art. vii, sec. 1, art. viii, sec. 9; N.C., art. v, sec. 4; Okla., art. x, sec. 15; Pa., art. ix, sec. 6; S.C., art. x, sec. 6, as amended in 1926 (*Laws of 1927*, No. 104); Tenn., art. ii, sec. 31; Tex., art. iii, sec. 50; Va., art. xiii, sec. 185; Wash., art. viii, sec. 5; W.Va., art. x, sec. 6; Wis., art. viii, sec. 3.

¹ N.M., art. ix, sec. 14; N.D., art. xii, sec. 185; Wyo., art. xvi, sec. 6.

² Except Michigan which applies the limitation only to cities and villages.

³ Ala., art. iv, sec. 94; Ariz., art. ix, sec. 7; Ark., art. xii, sec. 5; art. xvi, sec. 1, as amended in 1926; Calif., art. iv, sec. 31; Colo., art. xi, sec. 1; Del., art. viii, sec. 4; Fla., art. ix, sec. 10; Idaho, art. viii, sec. 4; Ky., sec. 179; La., art. iv, sec. 12; Mich., art. viii, sec. 25; Mo., art. iv, sec. 47; Mont., art. xiii, sec. 1; N.J., art. i, sec. 19 ("individual association"); Okla., art. x, sec. 17; Pa., art. ix, sec. 7; Tenn., art. ii, sec. 29; Tex., art. iii, sec. 52; Va., art. xiii, sec. 185.

⁴ Ga., art. vii, sec. 6(1); N.M., art. ix, sec. 14; N.Y., art. viii, sec. 10; N.D., art. xii, sec. 185; S.C., art. x, sec. 6, as amended in 1926 (*Laws of 1927*, No. 104); Wash., art. viii, sec. 7; Wyo., art. xvi, sec. 6.

units to support their poor;¹ and in states where the courts have construed the constitution, as has been done in Montana (see p. 17), it may be that such local units can give credit or issue bonds for relief of the needy. In this connection, it is of interest to note the following unique constitutional provision in Massachusetts:

The maintenance and distribution at reasonable rates, during time of war, public exigency, emergency or distress, of a sufficient supply of food and other common necessities of life and the providing of shelter, are public functions, and the commonwealth and the cities and towns therein may take and may provide the same for their inhabitants in such manner as the general court shall determine.—Art. xlvii.

In North Carolina the state may not lend its credit in aid of any person except upon submission of the question to the people and with the consent of a majority of the voters; and, in Tennessee, there is a similar provision but with respect to local units.² Maryland has amended the constitutional limitation against extending state credit to an individual, so as to enable the state to aid war veterans.³ In Montana a similar constitutional amendment failed of ratification.

3. *Amount of indebtedness which may be incurred.*—Most of the states have constitutional limitations under which the particular state is prohibited from incurring indebtedness above certain amounts, presumably for purposes other than those for which indebtedness is specifically authorized by the constitution.⁴ The constitutions of most of these states permit the state to incur indebtedness for such items as, for example, the construction of state buildings or institutions and of roads and also for educational purposes. With reference to the limited amounts mentioned in the constitutions, the inference is that money can be raised up to the limits for purposes not expressly authorized nor specifically prohibited by the constitution; but it is difficult to ascertain whether the amounts

¹ Ala., art. iv, sec. 88; Fla., art. xiii, sec. 3; Mont., art. x, sec. 5; Okla., art. xvii, sec. 3; Tex., art. xi, sec. 2, art. xvi, sec. 8.

² North Carolina, by art. vii, sec. 7, also prohibits any loans, etc., by local units, except by vote of a majority of the voters.

³ Constitution, art. iii, sec. 34, as amended in 1924.

⁴ Unless more is approved on referendum in California, Idaho, Kansas, Montana, New Jersey, North Dakota, Rhode Island, Wyoming. Instead of stating a specific amount, the states of Nevada, Utah, and Wyoming specify a certain percentage of the assessed valuation of all the taxable property of the state.

within such limits are not already incurred or outstanding as state debts. In view of the constitutional restriction against state credit in aid of individuals, it is also questionable whether the limited amounts, if not outstanding, could be used for purposes of relief to the needy.

With respect to the constitutional limitations on amounts of indebtedness by local units, such limitations are expressed in terms of percentage of the assessed valuation of taxable property. The value of the taxable property on which the percentage limit of indebtedness is computed is, as specified in most of the constitutions, the value ascertained by the latest assessment for state and/or county tax previous to the incurring of such indebtedness. It is important to note that these percentage limitations on indebtedness have no relationship to the percentage limitation on property valuation for purposes of taxation, nor to the taxes which may be raised by a local unit under its constitutional power of taxation. To be specific: If the assessed value of the property of a county is \$5,000,000, and the county is empowered to incur, and has incurred, an indebtedness of 10 per cent, or \$500,000, of such value, such county may still raise by periodical taxation funds for legitimate purposes to the extent of 2 or 3 per cent (or whatever the statutory or constitutional limit may be) of such value of \$5,000,000.

In general, there appear in these constitutional limitations on local units no limitations as to the purposes for which the proceeds of the indebtedness, so limited, may be used. It is, however, to be noted that indebtedness for purposes of public relief may be held unconstitutional under other limitations heretofore discussed.

There are many judicial decisions on the constitutional limitations imposed upon local units as to the percentage of indebtedness but they do not bear specifically on the subject of bond issues for purposes of public relief. The substance of judicial rulings in these decisions, in so far as they are pertinent here, is: That the constitutional limitations are clear and unambiguous, and mean just what they state; namely, that no indebtedness may be contracted in any manner or amount, for any purpose, in excess of the prescribed limit; and that any law authorizing a bond issue in excess of such limit is unconstitutional and the bonds issued thereunder are void; and this also appears to be the judicial rule with respect to the states.

CERTAIN COURT DECISIONS ON CONSTITUTIONAL LIMITATIONS
AGAINST AID OR CREDIT TO INDIVIDUALS

Some further court decisions, which appear to be pertinent, are: those which have a direct bearing on the constitutionality of statutes authorizing public aid or credit to individuals; and those in which the courts have construed the pertinent constitutional limitations with constitutional provisions authorizing counties to relieve their poor.

In connection with relief of the poor, the pertinent constitutional status in Montana is shown for purposes of illustration and to emphasize the importance of more extensive research of the entire subject in question. The constitution of that state provides that:

Neither the State, nor any county, city, town, municipality, nor other subdivision of the State shall ever give or loan its credit in aid of, or make any donation or grant, by subsidy or otherwise, to any individual, association or corporation. . . .—Art. xiii, sec. 1.

The following is the construction of this provision by the Montana court:

A \$20,000 guaranty fund to assure payment of interest on farm loan bonds was held unconstitutional, because it gives the credit of the State for the benefit of those who might become lenders under the act.—*Hill v. Rae*, 52 Mont. 378, 388; 158 Pac. 826.

The seed-grain law of 1915, to furnish aid to farmers, so reduced in circumstances by natural or other conditions beyond their control that they have no means wherewith to purchase seed, does not offend against this section when construed with section 5, article X, of the constitution, making it the duty of counties to provide for those inhabitants who, by reason of misfortune, may have claims upon the aid of society.—*State ex. rel. Cryderman v. Wienrich* (1918), 54 Mont. 390, 394, 170 Pac. 942.

Where the state constitution imposes a limitation on local indebtedness, but specifically excepts from such limitation indebtedness incurred for support of the poor,¹ the judicial construction, here referred to, is perhaps of less importance.

The pertinent constitutional provision in North Carolina is different from that in other states and is as follows:

Beneficent provisions for the poor, the unfortunate and orphan, being one of the first duties of a civilized and Christian State, the general assembly shall . . . appoint and define the duties of a board of public charities. . . .—Art. xi, sec. 7.

¹ As, for example, in South Carolina.

Under this section the supreme court of that state held that a county may pledge its faith and credit and issue valid bonds, without the approval of its voters, for the building of a county home for the poor, because "beneficent provisions" for them are recommended "as one of the first duties of a civilized and Christian State."¹

In an early case,² in Kansas, a statute, authorizing townships to issue bonds for the purpose of raising funds to provide grain for seed and feed for destitute farmers, was declared unconstitutional for the reason that it provided for taxation for other than a public purpose. Later the supreme court of North Dakota in a leading case,³ in holding constitutional a similar statute for needy farmers, refused to follow the Kansas decision and, in the course of its opinion, said:

This court has great respect for the court which promulgated that decision, and the most sincere admiration for the distinguished jurist, now upon the Supreme Bench of the nation [the late Justice Brewer], who wrote the opinion in that case. Nevertheless we can not yield our assent to the reasoning of the case, leading to the conclusion that a loan of aid to an impoverished class, not yet in the poorhouse, is necessarily a tax for a private purpose. In our view, it is not certain, or even probable, in the light of subsequent experience in the West, that the court of last resort in the State of Kansas would enunciate the doctrine of that case at the present day. . . . Under the stress of adversity peculiar to the condition of the frontier farmer, there has come to be an expansion of the legal meaning of the term "poor" sufficient to embrace a class of destitute citizens who have not yet become a public charge.

In the seed-grain decision, rendered by the Montana court in 1918, that court followed the leading case of *State v. Nelson County* and emphatically refused to be guided by the earlier Kansas decision, but re-enforced the sound judicial expression of a social policy by the court of North Dakota, declaring:

We realize that in (Kansas), the court . . . has taken other ground, holding, in effect, that one is not a pauper subject to relief until he is actually a pauper, not only helpless, but hopeless. . . . The argument . . . no longer responds to the spirit, nor meets the needs, of an age which has learned that "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure," and that it is sounder benevolence to help the needy to support themselves, to retain or regain their self-respect, than it is to wholly and forever keep them in the public charge and at the public expense.

¹ *Commissioners v. Spitzer & Co.*, 173 N.C. 147, 91 S.E. 707.

² *State ex rel. Griffith v. Osawkee Twp.* (1875), 14 Kan. 418.

³ *State v. Nelson County* (1890), 1 N.D. 88, 45 N.W. 33.

The state of Nebraska by constitutional limitation (Art. xiii, sec. 2) prohibits local units from ever making "donations to . . . works of internal improvement, unless a proposition so to do shall have been first submitted to the qualified electors . . ."; and provides that such donations of a county with the donations of a local subdivision shall not exceed 10 per cent of the assessed valuation of such county, but that such local units by a two-thirds vote may increase the indebtedness by 5 per cent. In 1890 the legislature submitted to the supreme court of Nebraska the constitutionality of a resolution authorizing certain counties to issue bonds, within the constitutional limits as to percentage and the vote of the residents, but for the purpose of relieving farmers in their drought-stricken areas. That court held the resolution constitutional,¹ saying, in the course of its opinion:

A great calamity fell upon a number of counties of this State last year, by which a large part or all of the crops were destroyed, and the people left in a suffering condition. The soil and climate are excellent, and with proper assistance the citizens of those counties will be able to cultivate their farms, raise crops, and add millions of dollars to the wealth of the counties and of the State. Without this aid, many, perhaps a large portion, of the people of the counties named will be unable to cultivate their farms and raise crops. It thus becomes a matter of public concern, and the law may be sustained upon two grounds: (1) As a matter designed for public benefit; and (2) as a police regulation, to enable persons in straitened circumstances, who, without fault upon their part, have met with misfortune, and are thereby greatly impoverished, to start anew in the cultivation of their farms, with a reasonable prospect of success—in other words, from being dependent, to soon become able to provide for all their own wants.

The following judicial decisions on the constitutionality of measures for granting either aid or credit to an individual will also be of interest: The supreme court of Arizona, in the course of an opinion,² declared that the pertinent constitutional limitation:

. . . prevents the State from becoming a subscriber to a charitable object, either alone or with others; that is, from appropriating its funds to an individual, association, or corporation for a cause having no claim upon the State other than its admitted worthiness.

¹ *In re House Roll 284*, 31 Neb. 505, 48 N.W. 275.

² *Fairfield v. Huntington*, 205 Pac. 814, 816.

In Michigan, the constitution provides that:

No city or village shall have power to . . . loan its credit, nor to assess, levy or collect any tax or assessment for other than a public purpose. . . .—Art. viii, sec. 25.

The supreme court of Michigan held that a city ordinance, creating a pension system for civil employees, was for a public purpose and not violative of this section of the constitution.¹

With respect to relief of war veterans, the supreme court of North Carolina held that legislation for issuing bonds to aid war veterans in securing homes is the pledging of the credit for a "public purpose," and is constitutional.² In Wisconsin the supreme court held that the soldiers' educational bonus law does not lend state credit or create a debt; and that such law merely levies a tax for the purpose of making a gift, revocable at will, and no contract relationship is established.³

In conclusion, it would seem that, while limitations exist in many state constitutions, some of the state courts are inclined to interpret these limitations liberally and to consider relief of the needy as a public duty which comes outside of such constitutional restrictions.

CARL A. HEISTERMAN

CHILDREN'S BUREAU, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
WASHINGTON, D.C.

¹ *Bowler v. Nagel*, 228 Mich. 434, 200 N.W. 258.

² *Hinton v. Lacy*, 193 N.C. 496, 137 S.E. 669.

³ *State ex rel. Atwood v. Johnson*, 170 Wis. 251, 176 N.W. 224.

SALARIES AND STATUS OF WOMEN SOCIAL WORKERS IN GREAT BRITAIN

I

MEMBERS of the Joint University Council of Social Studies, a body consisting in the main of representatives of the various British university schools of social study and training, were invited some time ago to co-operate in a small inquiry, which aimed primarily at ascertaining the range of salary paid to full-time social workers, and in this way to provide data for comparison with standards of remuneration in other professions requiring a comparable amount of training.¹ It was hoped that it might be possible, on the basis of information collected, to confirm or discount the general impression that the position as regards salary within the field of social service was definitely, if slowly, improving, and also to compare the status of trained and untrained workers. But, although a good deal of interesting and relevant information was collected, only the first point can be said to have been, in a measure, satisfactorily illuminated; further research into the expenditures for salaries of a number of public departments

¹ [EDITORIAL NOTE.—American readers will find the British social work salary scales more intelligible if they also have, as a standard, some other British scale of professional salaries. The editors are greatly indebted to Miss Black for enabling them to add the following statement:

So far as non-graduate social service workers are concerned, the salaries of elementary-school teachers are the most useful for purposes of comparison; and these salaries are fixed according to four standard scales, applying in different parts of the country. At the time this report was prepared they were governed according to an award issued in March, 1925. These salary scales are included here as likely to be useful for comparison with social work salaries.

Certified assistant women teachers (two years college trained) received on the lowest scale (Scale I) from £150 to £246, according to number of years of service; on the highest scale (Scale IV, the so-called London scale), from £180 to £324. Whilst graduate qualifications entitled the holder to a slightly higher rate of pay, uncertificated teachers were remunerated on a definitely lower scale.

The position with regard to head teachers is complicated by the fact that their salary varies not only according to the area in which they work but according to the size of their school. The certificated woman head of a school with fewer than 100 children, situated in an area in which Scale I was operative would receive from £163 to £276, whereas in the same area, but in a school with more than 500 children the maxi-

and private organizations would have been necessary in order to deal at all adequately with the second point; whereas the amount of available material bearing on the third was not sufficient to admit of drawing any definite conclusions.

Material for the compilation of the report which was subsequently prepared, and upon which the present article is based, was derived from three main sources: (1) 153 replies to questionnaires circulated during 1928 to qualified former students of social study departments in the following universities: Birmingham, Bristol, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Liverpool, and London (London School of Economics and Bedford College); (2) an analysis of 186 vacancies advertised, for the most part, in the daily press; and (3) information collected directly from certain public bodies and voluntary¹ [i.e., pri-

mum salary would be £372 reached after nineteen years service. On Scale IV, on the other hand, in a school with more than 500 children a maximum of £486 might be reached after twenty-five years.

So far as secondary schools go, separate scales were drawn up for graduate and non-graduate assistant teachers, the former having a considerable advantage, both as to maximum and minimum salary, and special recognition for the possession of a good honors degree. On the provincial scale the minimum salary for a non-graduate woman, on the basis of the 1925 award, was £174, the maximum, £306; for a graduate, minimum £216, maximum £384. There is no standard scale of salaries available for the principals of secondary schools.

The salaries of women teachers in general approximate four-fifths of those of men.

In comparing the position of British teachers with that of social workers, one would first draw attention to the recognition of definite qualifications for the work of teaching, and the setting of standards of remuneration by reference to these qualifications. The number of uncertified teachers is steadily declining. In the second place, one would wish to emphasize the fact that definite increments of salary are available upon the basis of years of service; there is, thirdly, in ordinary circumstances, reasonable security of tenure in the teaching profession, combined with reasonable prospects of advancement and recognition of special ability; and, lastly, a small pension to be enjoyed upon retirement.

All that has preceded, however, has of course referred to teachers working in schools "recognized" by the Board of Education, and one must remember that there are in existence many others in which the standard salary scales are not observed. The very mention of "recognition" by a public department suggests that the position in the field of social work is not strictly comparable with that in the field of education, but some attempt to look at the two in relation to one another is nevertheless instructive.]

¹ [EDITORIAL NOTE.—It is important for American readers to remember that the English term "voluntary" corresponds to our term "private agency." The English term "voluntary worker" does not need explanation since "voluntary worker" corresponds to "volunteer worker" in the American sense.]

vate] agencies which either actually do or might be presumed to employ persons trained in university schools of social study. The total number of schedules actually returned by the universities and relating to women was 232; but though all but 3 were adequately filled up, 4 referred to work abroad, and 77 had to be rejected or dealt with separately either because the persons concerned were not professionally engaged in social work or because, as in the case of Health Visitors, it was felt that their present employment and remuneration were mainly dependent on technical qualifications to which social training, however useful, was very definitely subsidiary. The term, "social worker," it should be explained, is, subject to the limitation just mentioned, used in what follows to cover all persons professionally engaged in the field of social service as this is defined in a leaflet on *Social Work as a Career*, published by the Joint University Council for Social Studies¹ in 1924:

"Social work" is a comprehensive term which may be said to cover any form of effort concerned with the welfare of the community, excepting those parts of highly specialized services, such as Medicine and Education for which other technical training is required.

This definition had the advantage of making available for purposes of comparison information as to salaries obtainable in higher administrative posts. It was originally hoped that the questionnaire would reach all qualified former students of the participating schools, and that the replies might in consequence be assumed to be fairly representative of trained workers in the field. But actually, only three schools adopted the wholesale method of circulation, a fact which must be borne in mind in any attempt to evaluate the results of the inquiry. It should also be noted that the collection of advertisements referred to was not in any way exhaustive, as they were not derived from technical or specialist journals, and were simply those which came directly under the notice of a single ob-

¹ [EDITORIAL NOTE.—The Joint University Council for Social Studies is the British organization that most nearly parallels our American Association of Schools of Professional Social Work. The British Council includes representation from what are called in Great Britain "schools or departments of social study and training" from the following universities: Birmingham, Bristol, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Leeds, Liverpool, London (Bedford College and School of Economics), Manchester, Oxford, St. Andrews, and the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire (Cardiff), and of Wales (Aberystwyth).]

server during the academic sessions 1925-28. It is not therefore suggested that taken alone they represent a fair and well-balanced picture of vacancies arising throughout the whole field of social welfare in the period concerned, Industrial Welfare Work, to take a

TABLE I
NUMBER OF NON-RESIDENT AND RESIDENT POSTS, CLASSIFIED
BY SALARY

YEARLY SALARY IN POUNDS	EARNED	OFFERED
Non-resident Posts		
Under 125.....	1	4
125 and under 150.....		5
150.....	19	35
175.....	11	14
200.....	42	15
225.....	13	3
250.....	18	8*
275.....	2	
300 and over.....	17	13
Not stated.....		18
Traineeships on varying terms.....	1	10
Resident Posts		
Under 75.....	4	15
75.....	7	8
100.....	4	
125.....		7
150.....	1	3
200 and over.....		2
Not stated.....		5
Traineeships on varying terms.....		10

* Two of these posts were offered at a salary of from £250 to £300 according to qualifications.

single instance, being inadequately represented, as vacant posts are very frequently filled by application to one of the professional organizations concerned or as a result of private inquiry.

II

The following tables give particulars of the salaries earned by 140 former students of the university Schools holding full-time posts at the time of the inquiry; and of initial salaries offered in connection with 175 vacancies. The maximum salary earned in non-resident

posts was £525; the maximum offered, £450. One resident post of a somewhat unusual nature, that of prison governor, was offered at £300 in addition to bonus, free quarters, and medical attendance (Table I).

It thus appears that more than half the salaries earned in non-resident posts lay between £175 and £250, but it should be noted that as many as 94, or 76.4 per cent, of the former students holding these posts had been in them for less than five years. All the salaries over £300, on the other hand, went to persons of considerable experience and maturity; and, among twenty-nine women who had been continuously engaged in social work since qualifying in or before 1918, only three earned as little as £200.

If we turn now to the question of initial salaries, we find that 36 per cent of the posts were advertised between £150 and £175, and another 29.9 per cent between £175 and £225; but as many as thirteen carried a salary of over £300; and, though four of these, it is true, were open to persons of either sex, such a fact may be looked on as encouraging rather than otherwise. It is apparently, at last, being very gradually recognized, as more in the way of qualifications and experience is demanded from candidates for social welfare posts, that if the best ability is to be secured the social services must offer inducements comparable to those held out in other forms of employment. Dr. Sydnor Walker, of the Rockefeller Foundation, makes, as it happens, in her book on the training of social workers, some interesting comments on the effect of drawing into the service of voluntary organizations business talent of the kind required by appeal secretaries and campaign organizers (whose work has not been included in the scope of the present inquiry); and, though her remarks refer primarily to American conditions, it seems at least possible that they may have some significance for this country also. Another factor which might in the long run be supposed to have some effect upon standards of remuneration is the opening to women of a certain number of fairly well-paid posts in the departments responsible for the administration of the Public Social Services; and, whereas we have at present insufficient evidence upon which to base a general statement in support of such a suggestion, Table II, which affords a rough classification of all the available

material according to the type of post concerned, was drawn up in an attempt to illuminate this as well as other points, Column A giving the number of instances in which posts of the kind designated were held by former students, with an indication of the range of salaries earned; Column B, similar information in regard to initial salaries. Part-time posts, twelve of which were held by eight students, and traineeships (offered most commonly by clubs and settlements though also in connection with several other branches of work; e.g., industrial welfare) are not included; and where resident salaries (R) are in question, board and lodging may be assumed to represent an equivalent money value of £2 per week at most (Table II). From this it appears that whereas the lowest salaries were, as might be expected, paid for certain forms of work sponsored by voluntary organizations, and the highest actually earned by former students occur in the civil service, there was not so much difference between the general range of remuneration offered by public authorities and private bodies as might be anticipated. It seems probable, however, that a material factor definitely turning the scales in favor of government employment lies in the fact that many of the posts are pensionable; but, while this is true for the present, of all higher administrative posts under the central authority, it was estimated in 1928 that about 15,000 local officials still remained outside the scope of existing superannuation schemes.

So far as other agencies are concerned, it was noticeable that only one voluntary organization, operating in a provincial town, was referred to by former students as maintaining a contributory pensions scheme; but several replies to the questionnaire emphasized the need for such provision and there seemed to be a growing interest in the problem on the part of those responsible. The London Charity Organisation Society, it is true, informed an interviewer that few workers cared to avail themselves of their voluntary contributory scheme. But, among other organizations with headquarters in London, the Invalid Children's Aid Association had a scheme in force; the Archbishop's Advisory Board for Women's Work recommended one which had, we understand, already been adopted in a few dioceses; and in other cases the matter was under consideration. In the

WOMEN SOCIAL WORKERS IN GREAT BRITAIN 27

TABLE II
CLASSIFICATION OF FULL-TIME POSTS AND RANGE OF SALARIES

NATURE OF EMPLOYMENT	COLUMN A		COLUMN B	
	No. of Posts	Salaries Earned	No. of Posts	Salaries Offered
Central Authority:				
H.M. inspectors.....	2	£350-£525	3	£200-£400+bonus
Employment officers.....	5	£150-£350	4	£150-£250
Pensions officers.....	3	£175-£200		
Probation officers.....	2	£150-£200	2	£150-£200
Prison governor.....			1	£300+bonus and qrs and medical attendance
Local Authorities:				
Relieving officers.....	4	£160-£280		
Visitors under Guardians.....	2	£200-£240	4	£170-£200
Care committees organizers.....	15	£172-£260	4*	£172
House property managers.....	1	£240	2	£250-£300
Voluntary organizations (i.e., Private):				
Settlement wardens.....	5	£100-£200 R	4	Not stated
Settlement subwardens and assistants.....	2	£60-£90 R	16	£80-£100 R
Club leaders.....	11	£120 (with accom- modation)- £200: £60- £75 R	33	£150-£170 £60-£100 R
Secretaries to C.O.S. and similar bodies.....	11	£130-£350	12	£150-£350
Hospital almoners.....	16	£153-£260 (gen- erally plus lunch and tea)	7	£125: £175-£250 (generally plus lunch and tea)
Child guidance workers.....			1	£450
Visitors (to blind and crip- pled).....	1	£200	12	£130-£156
Mental welfare workers and secretaries.....	6	£150-£250	19	£160-£250
Moral welfare workers.....	15	£50-£100 R	11	£50-£100 R
Women patrols.....	2	£150-£200 plus allowances	10	£150-£200 plus allowances
Industrial welfare workers.....	23	£200-£300 and over		
House property managers.....	2	£200-£250	2	£200-£250
Secretaries to women's insti- tutes.....	2	£150-£200		
Secretaries to rural communi- ty councils.....			4	£300-£400
Organising secretaries (not already included).....	10	£150-£250	4	£200-£400

* As the actual number of London County Council vacancies is not publicly advertised, only the number of occasions on which they were advertised is included here.

provinces a start had, as indicated, already been made; and the scheme recommended by the National Council of Social Service to its affiliated members had aroused considerable interest. Industrial welfare workers and hospital almoners, it should be added, may be included within the scope of general staff pensions schemes operating in connection with the factory or hospital where they are employed.

III

As no discussion of standards of remuneration can be considered complete without reference to the sort of qualification generally expected of, and actually achieved by, entrants to a profession, further analysis of the material collected was undertaken from this point of view. Among the advertisements, "experience" was the only qualification asked for in 60 instances; but it was almost invariably demanded in the 7 cases in which the possession of a University degree was considered desirable, in the 14 in which the certificate or diploma of one of the schools of social study was demanded, and in the 21 in which "training," either specified (e.g., secretarial) or unspecified, was asked for. So far as former students were concerned, among 111 giving information on this point it was found that 48 or 43.2 per cent had had previous theoretical training, either University or technical; 82 or 73.9 per cent had had practical experience of one kind or another; 29 or 26.1 per cent had had both training and experience; whereas only 16 individuals had had neither. It was thus clear that, not only is a certain maturity expected of those embarking upon careers in the social services, but that the work itself appeals most to those who have already had some experience of life—an impression which is amply borne out by replies to the questionnaire which showed that as many as 31 per cent of the students for whom we have particulars were thirty years of age or over at the time they completed their social study course. The position of the younger aspirants is indeed not always by any means an enviable one, as, in spite of the fact that several agencies offer bursaries or have developed trainee schemes, there is still a dearth of suitable openings in which they can gain the more or less specialized experience de-

manded. No attempt, however, it should perhaps be mentioned, was made, in connection with the present inquiry to estimate the relation between supply of and demand for social welfare workers; but replies to a question put to certain departments and organizations as to their methods of recruitment suggested that the machinery might well be improved, and at least one trained and experienced worker considered that some form of centralized social information and employment bureau was urgently required.

So far as graduates go, there was little evidence to show that the remuneration offered to them in connection with the ordinary run of welfare posts was much in advance of that obtainable by persons with lower academic qualifications; but it must, on the other hand, be remembered that certain of the higher administrative posts, which carry with them reasonable prospects of advancement or, at least, security of tenure and a certain prestige, are only open to such persons. And here we touch upon general questions of status and the relative position of trained and untrained workers, upon which, as already remarked, it was not, unfortunately, possible to gather conclusive evidence. Several former students expressed the opinion that the trained workers had no material advantage over the untrained; and those responsible for the appointment of staff still tend to lay more stress upon the possession of practical experience than on theoretical qualifications. But it seems probable nevertheless that a slight initial advantage in regard to salary may be attributed to the trained worker, and signs are not wanting that the voluntary organizations are becoming more alive to the value of training. The Settlements Association, for instance, and certain bodies of persons interested in work among the young have been considering the question of more active co-operation with the University Schools of Social Study, while the course of Training for Mental Health Work now given at the London School of Economics is the direct outcome of the demand for such co-operation.

From the point of view of those most immediately concerned with such questions, however, it seems worth remarking that improved status in other professions has come with organization, and agreement as to delimitation of activities, standards of entrance, training,

professional conduct, and so on. A beginning has been made within the field of social service with the formation and incorporation of such bodies as the Hospital Almoners Council and the Institute of Industrial Welfare Workers; and it may well be that the line of future advance will be marked by the crystallizing out and ultimate standardization of a number of separate professions united only by a similarity of outlook, agreement as to broad ends in view, and appreciation of a common and vitally important task to be undertaken in co-operation.

IV

In conclusion and by way of summary it may be pointed out that, while for non-graduates the range of salaries in social work did not, in the period under review, compare unfavorably with standards of remuneration in other occupations requiring a similar amount of training, competition with the untrained was still a feature of the situation to be reckoned with. Opportunities for advancement within the field of voluntary effort were limited, salary scales providing for regular increments up to an agreed maximum were by no means universally adopted and the introduction of superannuation and pensions schemes was still in the stage of consideration rather than of accomplishment. It would indeed be interesting to know how many short "lives" in social work are due to the existence of the disadvantages enumerated and of others like them, and how many are due to factors such as withdrawal on marriage or for other private reasons. Posts under local authorities have certain advantages along the lines in which it has been indicated that the voluntary agencies are deficient, and conditions are on the whole more stable; but initial salaries are about the same.

Both for graduates and non-graduates it may be remarked that salaries do not bear any definable relation to general qualifications, training, and experience, but tend rather to take special social experience into account. Higher administrative posts in the civil service are, on the other hand, in the main, only open to persons of considerable academic achievement. It appears, however, from supplementary evidence obtained from various agencies responsible for the placing of educated women in suitable employment outside the

teaching profession that the rather unsatisfactory position as regards graduates in particular is by no means peculiar to the field of social service. Women's work as a whole is still, at the present time, very little standardized, new openings are continually being sought, and the real problem, with which we are in the long run brought face to face, is one of much wider implication than that which we originally set out to investigate.

ELLINOR I. BLACK

THE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE
UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL

EDITORIAL NOTE.—American readers of Miss Black's careful study of certain aspects of the status of our profession in England will be interested in the two following memoranda submitted by the Joint University Council for Social Studies to the Royal Commission on the Civil Service, which reported last year, and to the Departmental Committee of the Ministry of Health. These memoranda, which are signed by Frank Tillyard, chairman, and Edith Eckhard and Elizabeth Macadam, the honorary secretaries of the Council, have been slightly cut owing to lack of space.

I

EVIDENCE SUBMITTED BY THE COUNCIL TO THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE CIVIL SERVICE IN FAVOUR OF CERTAIN CHANGES IN THE PRESENT METHOD OF RECRUITMENT FOR THE STATE SOCIAL SERVICES

DEVELOPMENT OF STATE SOCIAL SERVICES

The most striking change which has taken place during this century in the province of the Civil Service has been the development of the Social Services. The Ministry of Labour and the Ministry of Health have not merely taken over work formerly done by other departments, but have been made responsible for the administration of entirely new Acts of Parliament, many of which have required large additions to the staff. At the same time the burden placed on older departments, such as the Home Office, has been greatly increased. This increase is largely the result of the widening of the field of State Social Service.

Though the development of these Services has been gradual, the field of their influence is now very wide, and in fact the whole view of the functions of the State has during recent years considerably changed. The methods of recruitment, however, appear to have received little special consideration; with one or two exceptions, all responsible positions of an executive type are still held by

those who have gained their experience wholly within a Government Department.

As examples of officials for whom, in our opinion, the training now provided by the Universities under the name of Social Study courses would prove useful, we have selected the following: (1) Factory Inspectors; (2) Probation Officers; (3) Officers of the Children's Branch of the Home Office; (4) Inspectors for National Health Insurance; (5) Inspectors for Widows', Orphans' and Old Age Pensions; (6) Officials superintending slum clearance schemes, etc., under the Housing Acts; (7) Inspectors dealing with Public Assistance; (8) Inspectors under the Trade Boards Acts; (9) Managers of Employment Exchanges; (10) Interviewing and Investigating Officers under the Unemployment Insurance Acts; (11) Inspectors under the Agricultural Wages Act; with (12) the corresponding Officials at Whitehall.

PROFESSIONAL QUALIFICATIONS FOR SOCIAL WORK

The State Social Services have obviously developed from the pioneer work undertaken by voluntary industrial and social agencies, and in consequence much that was formerly done by the social worker is now the province of the public administrator. It would therefore seem logical to conclude that the experience gained as to the training of social workers should be applied to the recruitment of this type of public servant. During the last quarter of a century social work has come to be regarded more and more as a profession for which professional standards are demanded. In response to this demand the Universities have devised something of the nature of a general professional training.

UNIVERSITY PROVISION FOR TRAINING FOR SOCIAL WORK (SOCIAL STUDY COURSES)

1. Most Universities have now established Departments of Social Study and Training (leading up to Diplomas and Certificates) in which the curriculum may be likened to that of the medical student in its combination of theoretical studies with actual practical experience.

On the theoretical side the subjects selected for study include:

- a) Economic Theory and Economic History, with practical applications such as Industrial Structure, Organisation of Industry, etc.
- b) Social Philosophy and Social Psychology.
- c) Relevant Legislation as to Industry and Government (Industrial Law, Local and Central Government, Public Hygiene, etc.).

2. An essential feature of all Social Study Courses is the recognition that a wide theoretical knowledge is no proof of real ability to handle individual problems, and that all those who wish to specialise in some branch of social service should possess not only knowledge, but also a certain practical aptitude for doing the work that they propose to undertake. Obviously such aptitude cannot be gained or tested in the University class room. Every student is therefore placed under the skilled guidance of someone actually engaged in dealing with social problems. Thus at the end of the course the student has some

knowledge of the underlying causes of social disorders; of the various means, both State and voluntary, by which these are being treated; and a valuable experience in dealing with individuals, not only through co-operation with many different social agencies, but also, and this is even more important, through actual contact with working class life.

UTILISATION OF THIS UNIVERSITY TRAINING

It is our opinion that for the classes of Civil Servants we are considering, the Government should require the same theoretical training as is now considered necessary for qualified Social Workers.

But even more we stress the importance of the practical training of such Civil Servants. For these, if they are to be saved from the taint of bureaucracy, require to be not merely highly skilled officials capable of interpreting and administering numerous regulations, but men and women whose previous training has brought them into contact with the actual conditions of the life of those for whose benefit the Services have been built up. Without this experience a real understanding of the problem is impossible.

The training given to the student in the University Departments for Social Study, by bringing him into direct contact with men and women whose lives are lived under differing circumstances, enables him better to estimate what may be expected, and what, on the other hand, it is unreasonable to expect. Further, the training has the advantage of eliminating those who clearly show that they do not possess the qualities on which the success of any Social Service must be based. . . .

THE EFFECT OF THE PRESENT REGULATIONS

We therefore venture to draw the attention of the Commission to the two following crucial points:

1. The Government loses the services of persons who have been specially trained in the Universities to deal with the problems with which certain departments are concerned.
2. There is at present no opening in the State Social Services for the successful student from University Departments of Social Study.

While we in no way desire to see rules enforced which will debar from the Service as a whole those who have not had the advantage of a University education, we consider that it is equally illogical to continue a system which closes the door upon those who have, and in particular to exclude from our growing social services those who have made a special study of the very problems with which those services are dealing. In our view, if the present policy is continued it will ultimately prove suicidal; for as the ladder to the University is strengthened and made more complete, any profession which continues to rely at all largely for its recruits on those who have not had the advantages of the special training which the Universities provide will necessarily prove able to attract only the less well educated section of the community. Such a possibility cannot fail to be deplored by all who realize its danger. . . .

II

EVIDENCE SUBMITTED BY THE COUNCIL TO THE DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE OF THE MINISTRY OF HEALTH IN FAVOUR OF SOCIAL STUDY COURSES AS PART OF THE TRAINING OF CERTAIN CLASSES OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL SERVICES, NATIONAL AND LOCAL

The most striking change which has taken place during the last thirty years in the province of Government has been the development of Social Services; some of these, such as the National Insurance schemes dealing with sickness and unemployment, are mainly in the hands of the Civil Service, but Public Health in the very wide connotation given to that term, Housing and Public Assistance are mainly administered by Local Authorities.

The common element in these public social services is that they deal directly with the lives of men and women. Their justification lies in the fact that the welfare of a section of the community is to a large extent at the mercy of economic and industrial factors beyond their control. Those who live habitually on the border of the poverty line are liable to be plunged into immediate and acute distress as the result of unemployment, ill-health or other emergencies and must be protected in the interests of the community as well as their own. The Social Services offer such protection and require a technique of administration entirely different from that required for services dealing with transport, drainage, water supply, lighting, and other local needs. Even in these departments, however, different social policies will result in different requirements and at least some of the responsible officials should understand the social implications of the work which they carry out. Their training should be such as to make them alive to the social reactions of different policies as well as to their technical and financial aspects. For example, transport has a most important bearing on housing policy.

The following suggestions are therefore mainly concerned with such officials as: Health Visitors, Workers at Maternity and Child Welfare Centres, Workers at Child Guidance Centres, House Property Managers, Hospital Almoners, Public Assistance Officers, Home Visitors, Children's Visitors, Care Committee Officials of various types, Employment Officers acting under Local Education Authorities, School Attendance Officers, and the like who are constantly brought into touch with working class families, and the difficulties with which they are confronted.

PROFESSIONAL QUALIFICATIONS FOR SOCIAL SERVICE IN GENERAL

A good deal of social service still remains on a voluntary basis. Hospital Almoners, Welfare Workers in Factories and the Workers in University Settlements, and the Y.W.C.A., are outstanding examples. Infant Welfare Work has only recently ceased to be a voluntary service. Some services, such as the After-Care of School Children, have official leaders with voluntary helpers [see

footnote 1, p. 22]. It would therefore seem logical to conclude that the experience gained as to the training of social workers in general should be applied to the recruitment of the type of public servant mentioned in the foregoing paragraph. During the last quarter of a century social work has come to be regarded more and more as a profession for which professional standards are demanded. In response to this demand the Universities have devised something of the nature of a general professional training. . . .

EXISTING SCHEMES OF TRAINING

We do not overlook the fact that for some departments of local administration concerned with the social services experiments in training have already been in operation and we warmly appreciate the efforts that have been made by the National Association of Local Government Officers and the Institute of Public Administration in this connection. But many important departments are still recruited from those who have received their only training inside the Service. This may be desirable for more technical branches of Local Government but it is clearly indefensible for those who handle the delicate problems of human lives.

The best known existing schemes of training are as follows:

a) Health Visitors.—We are aware that there is a training scheme for Health Visitors in actual operation. We venture, however, to suggest that the Social Study involved is ridiculously small. The relative importance from an examination point of view of the technical studies and the social studies is roughly 95 and 5. Medical Officers of Health are already asking for a substantial increase in the social studies.

b) Public Assistance Officers.—The work of the Poor Law Examinations Board is deserving of high praise as a voluntary effort to increase the qualifications of Relieving Officers and kindred officials under the old Poor Law. However, it is open to the same line of criticism that it encourages a purely technical training.

c) House Property Managers.—Local Authorities are beginning to realise the value of the Octavia Hill system of management for their housing estates. This involves the training of carefully selected women. The difficulty here is that there are at present different schemes of training with different standards. We understand that steps are being taken to unify these and would like once again to emphasize the value of social training and experience as well as of technical qualifications for posts of this character.

d) Hospital Almoners.—Up to the present time hospital social workers, usually called hospital almoners, have been appointed mainly in the large voluntary hospitals, but we understand that recently, since the transfer of medical services to County and County Borough Councils, similar appointments have been made in hospitals under Local Authorities. The Institute of Hospital Almoners has organized systematic training for these workers, who after a period of general social study and training at recognised University Departments of Social Study, undergo a period of nine months' Hospital experience.

e) *Care Committee Officials.*—So far as we know there is no formally recognised training for care committee officials, but we understand that the London County Council gives preference to candidates for posts who have qualified for Social Study Diplomas or Certificates.

UNIVERSITY TRAINING AFTER APPOINTMENT

We call the attention of the Committee to the Home Office scheme for the training of Probation Officers.¹ A certain number of Assistant Probation Officers on appointment are sent to London, Birmingham and Liverpool, where they spend half their time on probation work and the other half in the Social Study departments of the local University. We believe that modifications of this system might be most useful to supplement the social experience of persons already in the service of local authorities. . . .

The editors have omitted the final summary of "Suggestions" at the close of each memorandum but think it important to emphasize the following suggestion which occurs at the end of each memorandum:

That an oral examination should be an important part of any system of recruitment for the Social Services and that at such oral examinations the candidate's knowledge of working class conditions of life should be tested.

Two other important suggestions should also be quoted:

That for positions connected with the Social Services the subjects for examination be revised, and that more weight be given to those branches of study which should prove of special value in the particular department for which the examination is being held.

That in any examination system due weight be given to subjects having a general bearing on a particular social service as well as to the technical qualifications for that service.

¹[It may be interesting to know that in this case posts are not guaranteed to the trainee in question, but they are bound to submit themselves for any vacancies occurring after the completion of the training, and may very possibly be (at the present time) the only qualified candidates in the field. The scheme, imperfect as it may be, was devised particularly with a view to getting in a better type of male candidate, but salaries remain low.]

GEORGE HERBERT MEAD AND THE PHILOSOPHY OF PHILANTHROPY

NEXT to the highly satisfying romanticism of an idealism that identifies what is with what ought to be, would come the pragmatic claim that what is *implies* what ought to be. Success or failure in vindicating such a claim would reverberate far in the social sciences. Almost a quarter of a century ago George Herbert Mead was already so sensitive to the crucial significance, for the social sciences, of this relation between the ideal and the real that he declared that "the evolutionary social science which shall describe and explain the origins of human society, and the social sciences which shall finally determine what are the laws of social growth and organization, will be as essential for determining the objective conditions of social consciousness as the biological sciences are to determine the conditions of consciousness in the biological world."¹ Indeed, the attempt to relate science and ideals is crucial for social service, as that term is currently used. For such relief work is not only "social" but is also "service." Now the service motif in philanthropy is so idealistic that it has drawn, perhaps still draws, its major sustenance from supernatural religion.² The generous out-giving, which in the nineteenth century loaded the white man's shoulders with the burdens of all those not white, and dotted—some are beginning to say spotted—the whole world with European and American missionaries, transpired in the name of God and for the sake of human salvation. Social movements, like physical motion, acquire a momentum that outruns the original impetus; but neither they nor it will continue indefinitely when the source of energy dries up. The deep inner wonder, not to say skepticism, and the widespread outer questioning, not to say distrust, of the Chris-

¹ "Social Psychology as Counterpart to Physiological Psychology," *Psychological Bulletin*, VI (1909), 408.

² Apologetic theologians, like Professor R. A. Millikan, believe that "about 95 per cent of all altruistic and humanitarian work in the world has come and is coming directly or indirectly from the influence of organized religion" (*Homiletic Review*, December, 1929).

tian missionary movement already jointly betoken a failing source;¹ and whatever the specific results of such a dramatic precipitate of this spirit as the body of American experts now engaged in a far-flung assessment of the missionary movement, no one doubts what it reflects; and few doubt that it will deepen the crisis of Christianity conceived as a service organization.

In a word, the "service" that was of old Christian has already become as among equals, and is becoming as between civilized and simpler peoples, "social," i.e., secular. The settlement movement, the community-chest movement, the dole system abroad, and at home the municipal, state, and national relief organizations (functioning through Red Cross or voluntary committees), not to mention the purely medical and educational aspects of the foreign missionary enterprise—all undertake in the name of the natural community what would so short a time ago have been done, if done at all, in the name of the divine. Now if the term "social" reveals a new unfailing spring whose life-giving energy may be tapped onto the mains that have heretofore carried energy from religious sources, it is well to know it, and reassuring to be able to depend upon it. If this be not so, to know it in time may happily stimulate our search elsewhere and perchance forearm us for a sterner way of life. But before dealing with this problem on its merits, it will be well to remark and evaluate Professor Mead's attempt to furnish a scientific sanction for the ends once cherished as Christian. It is hardly necessary to say that, his mind and influence being what they were, whatever light this article sheds will be light borrowed in no small degree from Mead himself. Heavy reliance will hereafter be put upon his splendid article entitled "Philanthropy from the Point of View of Ethics."²

I

What I have suggested elsewhere³ regarding the adequacy of Mead's social philosophy, is that the ameliorative thrust does not

¹ The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, immediately after quoting the foregoing extravagance from Professor Millikan, is able to trace, and that vaguely, less than 30 per cent of the money spent in relief in America last winter to religious sources (editorial bulletin on *Churches and Unemployment*).

² Faris et al., *Intelligent Philanthropy*, pp. 133-48.

³ *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXVII (1931), 368-85.

borrow efficacy from his scientific analysis of human nature. His analysis indicates that individuality is derived from the social process through a describable technique. Ignoring here the technique, we remark only that the process in question breaks up under analysis into processes, and that these processes are in conflict. Not only are they objectively in conflict, but Mead makes it unmistakably clear that the conflict runs deeper than the empirical field. The emotions that water the processes are themselves naturally divisive. Social conflicts being thus doubly based, a self created by and from them, unless it has undisclosed access to alien energy, cannot but perpetuate the conflicts that produce it. In a word, then, as we have elsewhere concluded,¹ an empirically social derivation of personality is not enough to guarantee a humane social order when such personalities are thrown together in society. Nor can the corrective fact that they have grown rather than been thrown together itself obviate the easy observation that the growth has ugly seams. We have seemed to detect in Mead some remnant of the general philosophic predilection to count "isness" for "oughtness" in operative efficacy.

Social service as a conspicuous branch of social philosophy furnishes a sobering approach for any philosopher. It at least keeps his eye fastened upon the difficulty, and thus tends to anchor his attention. For social service starts with the admission that things are not as they should be—starts, indeed, from the feeling of obligation to do something about the unideal conditions. Moreover, such anchored interest necessitates a study of ways and means for overcoming the inertia of others that thwarts, unless remedied, one's own ameliorative concern. Mead's lifelong interest in the settlement movement² and in every form of community relief indicates a mind extraordinarily sensitive to suffering; and his profound speculative bent guarantees that whatever deeper or fresher insight the philosophic mind can bring to bear upon practical concerns will be suggested, if not developed, in his analysis of philanthropy.

He seems to have started his intellectual career, as I have elsewhere indicated,³ with a declaration of independence on behalf of

¹ *Ibid.* p. 381.

² "The Social Settlement: Its Basis and Function," *University [of Chicago] Record*, XII, 108.

³ *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXVII (1931), p. 371.

himself and of his world. Deep in his philosophy lies the confidence that reality at large and in its separate sections is autonomous; it is a process that can and does run itself. But the social process, like a river bedded in unevenness, develops by its own momentum, eddies, shallows, falls. Indeed, the very emotions upon which sociality naturally depends thwart the farther reaches of social aspiration. Charity is itself as natural a gesture as is eating. Traceable as it is back to animals lower than man, "the kindliness that expresses itself in charity is as fundamental an element in human nature as are any in our original endowment. The man without a generous impulse is abnormal and abhorrent."¹ Not only is it indigenous but it is also private: "it implies both an attitude and a type of conduct which may not be demanded of him who exercises it. Whatever the donor's inner obligation may be, the recipient on his side can make no claim upon it."² Here we have briefly indicated both the assets and the debits of instinctive kindness, the earliest and deepest basis of social service. Its very naturalness and私ateness constitute a kind of sanctionless sanction that alone guarantees perpetuity. Onto this ancient trunk must be grafted every form of social service if the ideal itself is to be implemented. But the privacy of the sanction constitutes on its inner side—for, note that "it cannot be demanded"—as serious a limitation upon natural charity as does upon the outer side the unexpected baneful eventuation of much impulsive giving. The discovery that impulsive kindness calls for further charity until dependence becomes chronic and almsgiving a source of spiritual pride—this has itself been adequate to impugn native benevolence.

Through the work of reason, however, charity organizes itself in order to become itself more reasonable. The self-frustrating nature of impulsive generosity becomes in this way self-fulfilling, if it can become self-sustaining. The latter condition constitutes the rub; for as impulsive kindness suffers from initial blindness so charity as such suffers from chronic impotence. Since by nature the claim of charity cannot be demanded of the one who feels it, it ceases to be available for relief whenever the call outreaches the feeling. Now, modern humanitarianism has pretty clearly outgrown its glands. The need

¹ Faris, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

² *Ibid.*

for social service is so great that there is not enough feeling to fulfil it. It is easy for the isolated farm wife to gratify her charitable impulse by feeding every tramp that comes to her back door, if tramps come infrequently enough. It may be possible to organize this impulse in most urban communities in normal times so as both to preserve it and to render it adequate. But in abnormal times—that is, practically all times in a thoroughly industrialized community—the need for relief outruns the willingness, and sometimes the ability, to pay. For, "the donor," as Mead observes, "cannot fail in his other commitments because he has answered the appeals of charity with too great a generosity."¹ When this felt obligation which "cannot be demanded" of one meets felt obligations that can be legally exacted and can also be socially debited against one's business reputation, a private feeling has met a public force; and power has its usual way with impotence.

When charity, in its pilgrim's progress, comes to this crossroads, it has certain alternatives: (1) it may seek to maintain the feeling of obligation while withholding the concrete support; (2) it may reduce the feeling to make it commensurate with relief contribution; (3) it may undertake to raise practice up to the level of the feeling of obligation to relieve. Down the first road, one meets sentimentalism and later hypocrisy; down the next road a lowered self-respect awaits one at first, then, with the growth of habit, social insensitivity, and eventually barbarism; up the next road—for it will be uphill all the way—there awaits one—who knows whether communism or capitalism, whether utopia or disaster, awaits one?

II

Though we do not know for certain what awaits us if we undertake fully to implement the conscience that animates social service today, it is our business to inquire. The philosophical basis of social service awaits this inquiry. But before we inquire let us see more clearly why we cannot really elect to take either of the easier roads confronting us. Sentimentalism is an easy, tawdry virtue. There is enough of spontaneous fellow-feeling in every human being to make of him an ideological humanitarian. There is enough of this quality

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

at large in humanity to build utopian literatures and get them read; there has been enough to construct the heavens of religion and build on earth sacred institutions to lower for men the thresholds of these transcendental asylums. X-ray the imagination of any passer-by and you will find enough of kindness in his reveries to build Jerusalem in this green and sunny land—if it could be built of air, on air. The inquiring reporter of the enterprising press elicits from all subjects, in answer to the question, "What would you do with a million dollars?" variegated but splendid schemes of social improvement. But with our actual incomes we cannot do the grand thing; and it would be a kind of treason to our dreams to do the paltry little thing that can be done. So we sentimentalize the vision into a sacred ideal and proceed to let the needy need. For a time one may be sincere and still harbor this discrepancy; but there are few men who do not eventually suspect themselves of hypocrisy in holding their conduct to a course far below the mounting curve of their ideals; and hypocrisy robs even sentimentalism of its thrill. What begins as sentimentalism and develops as hypocrisy eventuates as the kind of hardness that enjoys what it has in plain sight of the suffering of those who may then easily be thought unworthy merely because they are unfortunate. This all too common rationalization marks the logical degradation of ethical perfectionism.¹ It is this easy understanding of the natural evolution of sentimentalism that makes it really impossible for the sensitive man self-consciously to elect to take this proffered way at the present crossroads.

And if it is psychologically impossible to take this path, it certainly is not probable that we can take the other indicated course, i.e., divest ourselves of the kindly feelings that transcend our actual practice. If we are not to acknowledge and treasure the fact that our reach exceeds our grasp, we shall progressively find ourselves to be grasping less and less.

Such feasting ended, then
As sure an end to men.

If we hold unimplemented idealism a vice, and pride ourselves upon a realism that is content with the might-makes-right principle, we

¹ Mead has a fine illustration in an early article, "Suggestions toward a Theory of the Philosophical Disciplines," *Philosophical Review*, IX (1900), 4.

shall not only sink again into barbarism, ethically speaking, but shall find that power and privilege slip away from us as we shed our moral discontents. The ledgers of industrialism do not disclose all sources of industrial profit. There must be at last some accounting for

All instincts immature
All purposes unsure,
That weighed not as his work, yet swelled
the man's amount.

While it is not impossible as a matter of heavy-footed fact, it is impossible as a matter of conscious intention for civilized men whole-heartedly to will themselves back to barbarism. And so we shall dismiss from our discussion as a critical alternative this second way of retrogression.

But if we cannot content ourselves with either cultural sentimentalism or ethical nihilism, neither can we stand gazing at the cross-roads. We are on a moving stairs that whisk us on whether we will or no. If we cannot will to go down that way or down this, then let us step upon the ascending stairs and see what exhibits are on the floor above. Upon this platform we are again in the company of Mead, our present mentor.

It is indeed from our inability to will either the hypocritic or the complacent way that, negatively, Mead derives his philosophy of philanthropy. What is implied, he seems early to have asked himself, by the fact that we cannot keep from seeing life through other people's eyes? Certainly it implies that we are at least in part social. We cannot but to some extent sympathize with misfortune (any more than we can fail to some extent to lighten our countenances in the presence of another's good fortune). But this is an old observation of common sense and furnishes the basis for a philosophical tradition that was already hoary when Aristotle coined it into an aphorism. Put in Aristotle's form, however, it cannot outrun the fact. We are merely as social and as sympathetic as we are observed to be. But it is clear that this observation is not enough to furnish a basis for improvement; it merely celebrates a fortunate discovery, but not fortunate enough to take as disclosing all the potentiality of the actual. Mead thought he saw in the discovery, however, some assurance that our partial sociality is promissory of further sociality

without limit. His resolution of individual to social psychology was the scientific form this conviction took. If, in our very texture we are products of community forces, then do we not need only to become self-consciously what we unconsciously are in order to guarantee complete socialization? His uncompromising emphasis, therefore, upon the self-conscious life as alone worthy of man had as its motif not merely the enjoyment of our human estate but, even more the improvement thereby of our animal inheritance.

If, as according to his social psychology, we become selves only by assuming the rôles of others, the cultivation of our personality is dependent upon the possibility of our participating in the community's affairs, upon our promotion of communal welfare. Since, however—as is indicated by the unideal need that necessitates social service—we start with a community that must be greatly improved before it can be greatly enjoyed, the prospect of our own self-realization is limited by the possibility of social amelioration. Let us now inquire more in detail what, both negatively and positively, this implies for social service. Negatively, it implies that the enemies of those whose rôles we take are our enemies. Moreover, enmity will be aroused by whatever persons or conditions thwart or restrict the full out-working of human capacity. No other conception of evil is needed than this simple one of frustration. But what attitude on our part does the feeling of enmity imply? It clearly implies a gesture of destruction. "The immediate effect," Mead admits, "of sympathetic identification with the other is to call out the other's response in attempting to ward off or alleviate suffering, and this calls out at once resentment or criticism against the individuals or institutions which may seem to be responsible for it."¹ This negative implication of the other-assuming rôle Mead makes unmistakably clear by declaring that

it is a mistake, however, to assume that putting one's self in the place of the other is confined to the kindly or charitable attitude. Even in a hostile attack one feels in his own muscles the response of the other, but this only arouses still further one's own attack and directs the response to the attack of the opponent; and in the consciousness of one's rights one places himself in the attitude of others who acknowledge that right in so far as he recognizes this right as inhering in them.²

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 140.

² *Ibid.*

One sees this destructiveness of sympathetic identification writ large in the current desire of communism to foment world-revolution; for, in the ideology at issue, it is only through the destruction of the enemies of the proletariat that the proletariat may come fruitfully into its own.

There is, however, in communism, as elsewhere, the positive implication of the function of sympathy. Sinners must perish that saints may flourish. It is upon this more positive implication of the rôle-assuming technique that Mead lays heaviest stress. "The identification of ourselves with Lazarus," as he says, "puts in motion those immediate defensive reactions which give rise not only to efforts of amelioration but also to judgments of value and plans for social reform."¹ This transition from the destructive gesture of sympathy aimed at enemies to the constructive counterpart on behalf of friends is not as clearly indicated as one might wish. But Mead not only assumes the presence of both, but goes so far as to say that the step from the destructive attitude "to the ideal of social conditions under which this evil would not exist is *inevitable*. Out of these ideas arise plans, possibly practical, for remedying at the source the misfortunes of those in distress."² Indeed, it is the actual presence of this dual response, which arises from putting ourselves in another's place, that constitutes for Mead the philosophical basis of social service: "In any case it must be in our reactions against evils, and with its victims, with whom we sympathize, that the ethics of charity must lie."³ We have here laid in the very nature of man, even in the unpromising shadow of his antipathetic responses, a promise of sociality greater than exists at any given time and place; for, to feel for others is to thrust away from them the menacing evil and to withdraw them to a safer position.

III

With this psychological foundation laid, we are prepared to advance to sociological and political considerations. We should march inevitably to utopia, it appears, if there were not one insuperable obstacle in the way. I have commented elsewhere² upon the psy-

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 140. Italics are mine.

² *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXVII (1931), 375.

chological obstacle that arises, according to Mead, from the fact that the very emotions upon which we depend for advance are themselves divisive. Though this is not the inhibition upon which I here focus attention, it may prove to be the secret source of our halting advance. The obstacle here seems to be that there is not adequate motivation to furnish the necessary sinews for indispensably needed relief. The natural emotions are dismissed by Mead in this connection not because they are in themselves divisive but because they turn out badly. "The bare impulse to help is on the same level with that of the dogs that licked the sores on Lazarus' body."¹ Not only so, but it may pass from canine tenderness to feline indirection: "The kindly impulses that lead us to help those in distress . . . may breed beggars."²

We may condemn such impulsive action [continues Mead], but the condemnation is based upon the fact that a sense of values, with the consequent possibility of reasoned choice, did not play its proper part in the action . . . organized charity has arisen to bring reason into their exercise. Bringing reason into charity consists, on the one hand, in definitely tracing out the consequences of impulsive giving, and, on the other hand, of so marking out the distress and misery of the community that constructive remedial work may take the place of haphazard giving.³

But the obstacle now appears in full force: Where are we to get the means for organized charity to do the necessary work which social sentiments envisage in times of adversity? The answer to this question will thrust us as far beyond social service as social service is beyond Christian charity. It will project us bodily beyond both onto the plane of justice.

It is high time that we make definitely clear the boundary line between the charity-service motif and the justice motif. The one leaves off and the other begins precisely where what is privately acknowledged becomes publicly enforceable. When conscience is threatened with either sentimentalism or complacency, taxation comes to the rescue; and there arises a public impersonal conscience to displace the ineffective private one. Mead combines into a single statement a fine appreciation and a splendid illustration of this metamorphosis:

¹ Faris *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

² *Ibid.*, p. 134.

³ *Ibid.*

When a man feels not simply an impulse to assist another in distress, but also an obligation, he always implies a social order in which this distress would make a claim upon the community that could be morally enforced, as, for example, in a community where employees in industry are insured, the distresses incident to old age, sickness, and unemployment must be relieved.¹

Before canvassing the further practical significance of this derivation of justice, it is well to indicate again that Mead sees in the evolution of charity into social service and social service into some form of commonwealth a logical development for which he uses the notion of "implication." Though he uses the term "inevitable" to describe the implication, we are not, I think, to understand anything like a Marxian dialectics that plunges willy-nilly to some certain goal. Rather, Mead means that if a man is both humane and consistent he will, if he thinks at all, be forced to the *conclusion*, though not, alas, to the *action*, which the analysis indicates. If Mead errs here, it is in the direction of now and then forgetting this distinction and making logical implication play, in a pinch, the part of a social force.

To return, then, to the process of implication itself. It is certainly morally reassuring to believe, with Mead, that the same impulse which leads us to give at all will lead us to regulate our giving so as to make it effective, once we discover that generosity breeds impudence. This implication, however, itself is conditioned by one crucial fact; and that is that we are more interested in the receiver than in the giver. It is to counteract the age-old suspicion that this is basically not so that Mead has elaborated his social psychology. Whatever weakness attaches to his social psychology will show itself here as invalidating the first stage of that implication whereby Mead proceeds from impulse to justice. It is commendable caution to put alongside the fact that this transition has here and there taken place, the memory that there were centuries when charity was more prized for self-salvation than for social relief and the recognition that social service is still in some communities hardly more than an artificial island scientifically fabricated, as it were, in an ocean of primitive impulsiveness. But the manner in which, and the extent to which, social service is implied by elemental tenderness, mark also the implication of justice by social service. For, when

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

generous impulses enlist our aid in behalf of a sufferer, and scientific inspection reveals that he can be relieved in such manner as permanently to be helped, and this without eventual sacrifice to ourselves, then justice appears to us just as much the indicated step beyond service as cautious service was beyond reckless impulsiveness. But to say that each stage is implied by the other assumes a growth in both thoughtfulness and benevolence which the earlier stage does not appear wholly to explain. There is, as in emergent evolution theories, a surplus unexplained but gratefully acknowledged. This interstitial contingency resolved only by individual audacity at individual risk renders all progress (Mead's "implication") purely hypothetical. Moreover, the growth that causes one to acknowledge as inevitable a next step in thought frequently fails to activate an advance in conduct. It is this latter observation upon which I wish now to dwell.

Thought can admit as inevitable a next step which for action is impossible, because the conditions which render logically inevitable a next step may be so different from the conditions that actually confront conduct as to leave the one out of the question while making the other appear necessary. And yet these conditions may operate so subconsciously as to permit one consciously to argue that because the thought follows, the action must match it. Mead himself furnishes a clear illustration of both the fact and its violation when, in a brilliant article on internationalism, he proceeds from the true observation that we can no longer *think* our international relations in terms of war (since war is in very essence their invalidation) to the contrary-to-fact conclusion that "we can no longer depend upon war for the fusion of disparate and opposing elements in the nation."¹ Now is not so to conclude clearly to substitute an ideal for a fact? We can and do still depend upon just that—taking the chance, of course, that we may one day destroy ourselves as well as our enemies. We ought not, but we do. The very impotence of ideals breeds in the most sensitive natures an urgency peculiarly likely to claim as effected what, alas, is only yet desired. Ideals do not have the potency to heave themselves by fiat into full-bodied being. Nowhere does our imagination run more riot than with reference to benevolence. We start our mental activity, observation of children proves,

¹ *International Journal of Ethics*, XXXIX (1929), 400.

not easily able to distinguish the ideal and the actual; we find the ideal more to our liking; and all our lives we are likely to slip the cog of actuality in pursuit of uncriticized eidola. That Mead draws hope for the march of events from his delineation of the course of logic seems clear. Nor is this wholly to be deprecated; but it is certainly to be watched to the extent of emphasizing the fact that implication is a term in logic rather than a fact in nature. There is a logic of events, and it may differ sadly from any known logic of thought. This caution, however, should not inhibit, rather it should encourage, the getting of our thoughts clear, even when conduct does not follow the clarification. He who will not do the minimum when estopped from the maximum is not likely to achieve the maximum when the opportunity arises. The least we can do is to understand. The latter, Mead believed to be a great step, perhaps he believed it too great a step, in the direction of social amelioration.

Even if Mead's generous mind did sometimes over-play ideals, he has himself indicated clearly the limitation that actuality puts upon generosity. His illustration takes the form of showing how a benevolence which might be actual on one level—a level, too, which is implied by a lower level—is impossible upon that lower level itself. The principle of progression upon which he relies is, he says, "an implication that can become explicit only when the social structure and the ideas behind it make it possible."¹ In the present order of society, Mead goes on to observe, "those who have advantages cannot share them with the rest of the community. This could only be possible in a community more highly organized, otherwise bred and trained."² But turning to a radical thought of self-sacrifice which has found lodgment in every generous mind, Mead declares, "To sell all we have and give to the poor would not change this situation."² Indeed, "so far as this community is concerned, we can morally enjoy what from one standpoint is an exploitation of those whose submerged life has given us economic and spiritual wealth which our peculiar situations have enabled us to inherit."² While we enjoy our differential privileges, however, "we feel," he concludes, "the adventitious nature of our advantages, and still more do we feel that the intelligence which makes society possible carries within

¹ Faris *et al.*, p. 142.

² *Ibid.*, p. 145.

itself the demand for further development in order that the implications of life may be realized."¹

IV

We have now before us the two sides of Mead's philosophy of philanthropy: on the one side, we are obligated to relieve suffering and underprivilege inside a social system which normally perpetuates gross injustices and in doing so makes impossible an effective discharge of the generosity which we feel; on the other side, we are obligated to work for a social order in which full justice would supplant service as service is supplanting charity. We may now finally summarize the distinctions involved in these contrasts. Charity remains purely voluntary, justifies itself in terms of satisfaction to the giver, and hopes for the best consequences in the receiver.² Social service resembles charity in that it cannot be exacted of us, but transcends charity by regulation of the generous impulse in terms of consequences, and finally justifies itself not in terms of personal feeling but of social good. Justice removes the last trace of charity by exacting what is required for the needs of others. The common nerve that nourishes all these forms of generosity is the elemental impulse to put ourselves in the place of others and react for their sake rather than for our own. Indeed, Mead's social psychology means by postulating a common matrix for all minds so completely at bottom to obliterate the very distinction between *meum* and *teum* that it will seem anomalous wherever it thereafter occurs.

Even if not wholly successful in this attempt, he does give new vigor to the attempt to render rational the sentiment of benevolence. What is more, he parades a principle of progression which challenges continuous growth on the part of our generous natures. The sap is always elemental impulse, but the trunk proliferates into professional and economic and political and religious branches. Impulse liberated and enlarged through understanding the consequences of impulse—this is the key principle. Charity stands face to face with

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

² Cf. one of Mead's examples: "The author of a mediaeval treatise on charity considering the lepers as a field for good works contemplated the possibility of their disappearance with the ejaculation 'which may God forbid'" (*American Journal of Sociology*, XXIII [1918], 596).

need, and justifies itself in terms of the good feeling to the giver that accompanies the gift. But there are consequences of all gestures, whether recked or not. To discover these consequences, to prize them as indications for further diagnosis, and to be generous for the sake of the foreseen good effects upon others is to practice or support social service. Understanding transports us from the level of the generous dog before the sores of Lazarus to the level of the critical intelligence at work today in organized charity. But a further recognition of consequences will mark a more advanced stage in the evolution of altruism. Social service has, as a result of its success, the perpetuation of a social order to which the most generous mind can never give its thoroughgoing approval. How discrepant indeed our social order is from the highly desirable may be seen, not only in the fact that charity is necessary, but in the further fact that the necessary is impossible of performance upon a voluntary basis. The need for social service visibly outruns the effective general will to render it. When that which we feel we ought to, but do not voluntarily, give can be effectively demanded of us by another because of his needs, social service will have given way to more effective organization supporting ameliorative programs by taxation.

This seems to imply political organization and, indeed, to make the state the final goal of ethical aspiration. While Mead apparently never shared the American mania for the political principle of brittle individualism or the common phobia of his environment against socialism,¹ he was more interested in bases for reform and methods of procedure than in programs. If business privately undertook through its own organization—*à la* the Swope proposal at the moment in the public eye—to do in America what governments in Europe ordinarily do, Mead's principle would be illustrated, so far forth. The qualification is added because, though such regional agreements would supplant the ineffective voluntary with the enforceable, yet they would not remedy another weakness in our social structure. Legislation by any group that is not ubiquitous leaves somebody exposed to the consequences of the legislation itself; for, to right wrong is not infrequently to wrong somebody else. Now, the

¹ "Socialism, in one form or another," he early saw and declared, "lies back of the thought directing and inspiring reform" (*ibid.*, V [1899], 367).

only group that is completely ubiquitous, even though it be not in the same sense omnicompetent, is the political. Indeed, the attempt to deal with the unforeseen evil consequences of impulsive charity which led to scientific social service and Mead's attempt to deal constructively with the farthest and therefore generally unforeseen consequences of social service, isolates for inspection the very principle upon which John Dewey, in *The Public and Its Problems*, attempts to found the state. All actions have consequences. The consequences foreseen by interested parties will be good if the parties be intelligent. But not all persons are equally intelligent; and even if they were, they are not on the lookout for all consequences to the end of time but only for those that are relevant to the purpose embodied in specific conduct. The state, Dewey plausibly argues, arose and exists precisely to acknowledge and to administer these indirect consequences of conduct which otherwise, in being nobody's business, impair everybody's business. On such a theory—and enough has been said to show that Mead shares the general point of view¹—political action would be the logical result and state regulation of common affairs the normal goal of our ameliorative interest. Mead's preoccupation is so much centered, however, upon the common affairs that he always sees the political process as itself highly socialized, which of course it not always is in practice. As external, it can get nowhere; as internalized, it is no longer merely political.

We must recognize [as Mead astutely remarks] that the most concrete and most fully realized society is not that which is presented in institutions as such, but that which is found in the interplay of social habits and customs, in the readjustments of personal interests that have come into conflict and which take place outside of court, in the change of social attitude that is not dependent upon an act of legislature.²

V

The director of organized relief is so strategically placed in an industrial society that she must become a social engineer to guarantee

¹ Mead was not, it may be remarked, very hopeful of our ability so "to forecast any future condition that depends upon the evolution of society as to be able to govern our conduct by such a forecast." He more modestly contents himself in such cases with "a method and a control in application, not an ideal to work toward" (*ibid.*, p. 369).

² "Natural Rights and the Theory of the Political Institution," *Journal of Philosophy*, XII (1915) 152. This entire article should be required reading for every serious student of the social sciences.

her efforts larger eventuation than her job requires her to acknowledge. If she sinks herself in the job, content to perpetuate the society she believes, she loses her soul to a society that is not worthy of the sacrifice. Unless she sees as among the consequences of her work a human order more just than any yet achieved, she denies a better through slavish devotion to a good. To serve with efficiency and high morale a present good without losing contact—yea because of contact—with a better-growing-toward-a-best—this is for her to become a priestess whose mind redeems her service from the taint of sacrifice. She serves, willy-nilly, larger ends than are set before her. The only possible guarantee—and it is not enough, for there is no adequate guaranteee of the ideal save its actualization—that these larger ends will also be better ends is for her to become wise in the ways of science, scenting causal connections and clairvoyant of remote consequences of action. If she sets out from a democratic background, she may wisely remember that democracy early emphasized three goals—equality and fraternity, as well as liberty. If through an overweening devotion to liberty our industrial civilization has so overemphasized the voluntary element as to deprive millions of men of the efficacy even of the will to work, it is acting in the true spirit of democracy to correct that error by a new emphasis upon equality of opportunity. If she sets out from a religious background, she may truly remember the democratic fraternity motif was meant to implement, more fully than religion had been able to do, the ideal of human brotherhood. God works in secular ways man's blunders to transform. If she be liberal, she may well draw her secret morale from a vision of a socialistic commonwealth. If she be radical, she may foresee, as implied in the philosophy of her work, a classless society arising magically on earth through the turmoil of a dictatorship of the proletariat.

The point I wish here to emphasize is not the details of the case but the general fact that the wise social worker will see as the goal of her service some general social reconstruction. This, following Mead, we have seen to be implied, not only by the nisus toward enlargement on the part of the generous impulse, but by the impossibility of adequately meeting the minimum needs of men where and when the resources from which to meet them cannot be demanded

of those who have them. A purely voluntaristic humanitarianism is a travesty when adversity becomes chronic, as it does when society is fully industrialized. It throws an undue burden upon the most sensitive; it rewards the relatively insensitive; and it permits far too many men, women, and children to live their lives below the level of their minimum needs. When men come to feel of privileges hitherto voluntarily granted to them that they are theirs by right, then peaceably or violently they will have their rights. And when what one feels himself obligated to give, another feels himself privileged to demand, social or political organization has strengthened free will, and the principle of justice—whether actual justice follows or not—supplants the principle of service. Dewey's account of the origin and function of the state converges with Mead's account of the upward implication of impulsive kindness to indicate organized justice effectively administered as the goal of moral striving. "It is this feel," says Mead, "for a social structure which is implicit in what is present that haunts the generous nature, and carries a sense of obligation which transcends any claim that his actual social order fastens upon him. It is an ideal world that lays the claim upon him, but it is an ideal world which grows out of this world and its undeniable implications."¹

T. V. SMITH

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

¹ Faris *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

A YEAR'S EXPENDITURES OF TEN RAILROAD LABORERS

AT THIS time when the early depression policy of maintaining wage rates seems to be breaking down, it is important to realize as clearly as possible what wage cuts will mean to the low-paid workers. Among the groups whose wages have been reduced are the workers on the railways. Hence new interest attaches to any information concerning the kind of living that could be secured on their wages before reductions were made. As it happens, the U.S. Children's Bureau made a study of one group of railroad laborers, of the maintenance of way department, in the year 1928-29 before the beginning of the depression. The individual accounts presented in the following pages are taken by permission from the forthcoming report of the Children's Bureau.

The complete report covers the incomes, expenditures, and general living conditions of 550 families with 1,674 children in which the head of the family worked on the railroad tracks. Four hundred and seventy-three of the men were section laborers, 77 were section foremen. The Children's Bureau has already made public preliminary findings, which tell a story in dry matter-of-fact figures of low earnings, supplemented in ways that are for the most part socially harmful, and incomes still falling below accepted standards, a story, for all but a handful, of inadequate food, poor clothing, insanitary housing.¹ Findings not yet made public show equal deprivation with regard to the intangibles which make life more than a mere living.

The figures however have meaning only to those who have experience or imagination which enables them to translate figures into pictures. The Bureau report when it is published will contain a mass of descriptive material, from which these accounts have been selected. In general, they tell their own story, but some explanation of terms is called for and they may perhaps have more meaning if they are prefaced by a few words about the group of section workers.

¹ See "News Release of U.S. Department of Labor," Children's Bureau, April 29, 1931, published in *U.S. Daily*.

The total group of section laborers numbered something over 200,000 in 1928 and formed the largest single occupational group on the railroads. The foremen, also included in this study, numbered just under 40,000. They are scattered all over the country wherever the tracks run, for their's is the task of keeping the roadbed in repair.¹ This is a job which must be well done if the railroads are to maintain their efficiency and passengers are to travel in safety, but it is one which involves no complicated technique and calls for strength rather than dexterity. Hence it is classed as unskilled labor and commands wages at the lower end of the wage pyramid. In April, 1928, the figures of the Interstate Commerce Commission showed average hourly earnings of 35.4 cents for the laborers, and information furnished by the union while the study was in progress showed that the rates ran from 14 to 43 cents an hour on different railroads.

For the workers as a whole the employment figures show marked irregularity. There is in the first place a seasonal variation, with the numbers large in summer, down in winter. In 1928 the fluctuation was so great that the average for the three months of lowest employment was only 71 per cent of the average for the three highest months. There were, that is, 169,000 men who might possibly have worked twelve months, there were 61,000 who could not have worked more than nine months, and 34,000 whose working year on the tracks could not have been more than six months. But it is not only seasonal unemployment from which the workers suffer. It is workers in this group possibly more than in any other who are let off when business is bad. A chart of the numbers employed month by month registers each up and down of the business cycle, and the present depression sticks out like a sore thumb. In October of 1929 the numbers employed were very near the highest figure for October since 1920; in November they were lower than in any previous November in the period, and month after month, up to the present, register new low records for that month. In terms of the years' figures the average dropped from 207,174 in 1928 to 179,691 in 1930.

¹ The section workers should not be confused with the extra-gang men who lay new tracks and put in improvements. The latter are floating, migratory workers; the section men are part of the permanent working force of the railroads.

In addition, there is unemployment within employment. In November, 1928, for example, the hours worked fell short of full time by an average of two days, one hour for every worker on the pay-roll. As this does not fall with even incidence it means that some workers classed as employed receive appreciably less than full-time earnings.

The accounts that follow are estimates of the year's income and expenditures worked out by a trained investigator of the Children's Bureau on the basis of information secured from the housewife, her husband, and sometimes older children.

A very few words will suffice to explain the accounts. First, it should be noted that income includes the total amount received by any of the family group, and that an allowance is made for the value of any home products used or income in kind, such as free rent or free fuel. These values are only approximations, but, as can be seen from the accounts, the income in kind was frequently an appreciable addition to the family income and could neither be ignored nor dismissed with a mere notation that it existed. The budget figures which follow the incomes are estimates of the ordinary requirements of a family of the same size and composition, according to the schedule of the Chicago Standard Budget as modified for independent wage-earners, and adjusted for price differences and different climatic conditions of the different localities. The grades, A, B, or C, which often follow the food, clothing, and housing items are grades given on the basis of goods used as distinguished from expenditures. "A" means apparently up to the standard described by the Budget, "B" means below that standard but within sight of it, "C" means far below the Budget standard. The grades are undoubtedly too high, because the families studied were on the whole so poor that every effort was made to understate rather than overstate their poverty, and thus in all doubtful cases the family was graded up rather than down.

The families selected are arranged in reverse order of their poverty, with the families first whose income was up to or above their budget. It may occasion some surprise that so many of the families are native Americans. The proportion is larger than the proportion among the 550 families studied, largely because the estimates secured without the aid of an interpreter were usually more clear-cut

and circumstantial. There are, however, many native Americans working on the tracks, surprising as it may seem to those in cities who think of all unskilled labor falling to foreigners. Possibly, too, the families represented are somewhat above the average in the intelligence and skill with which they manage their incomes, as the accounts presented were from the people who knew best what had been done with their money. This again means that the picture of insufficiency is painted in too cheerful colors.

Family 212.—A Scandinavian family living in Minneapolis consists of the father, aged sixty-two, the mother, aged fifty-nine, a girl of twelve, and for 8 months of the year a widowed daughter with her young son.

INCOME:	
Father's earnings—foreman.....	\$1,560
Earnings of adult daughter.....	600
<i>Total cash income.....</i>	<i>\$2,160</i>
Income in kind, garden products and fuel.....	60
<i>Grand total—value.....</i>	<i>\$2,220</i>
BUDGET ESTIMATE.....	1,434
SURPLUS OVER BUDGET.....	786
Actually, however, the daughter did not turn in her earnings to the family fund. For five months she turned in nothing, for three months she paid \$25 per month for room and board. Treating her as a boarder, the family's income and budget are as follows:	
Father's earnings	\$1,560
Payments from daughter.....	75
<i>Total cash income.....</i>	<i>\$1,635</i>
<i>Grand total—value, including income in kind.....</i>	<i>1,695</i>
BUDGET (including food only for daughter and grandson)	1,300
SURPLUS.....	395
EXPENDITURES:	
Food	\$ 572
This is 39 cents per man per day, and is thus above the budget estimate for Wisconsin. The diet however was graded B	
Clothing—below budget allowance.....	107
Father.....	\$20
Mother.....	43
Girl aged twelve.....	44

The clothing grade was A—largely because of gifts. The visitor's notes are as follows: "Father's overcoat is twelve years old; his raincoat was a gift 'years ago.' His Sunday hat is seven years old, his caps are those which become too shabby for his married son. Much of his cloth-

ing this year belonged to a son-in-law who recently died. He won his overalls at union raffles. His personal appearance shows great cleanliness and neatness. His suits although old are kept cleaned and pressed so that they are suitable for church. His shoes last because he repairs them himself three or four times a year.

"Mother does not wear out many shoes since her rheumatism keeps her at home. She wears out her husband's old winter underwear at home. Much of her clothing is worn clothing of her grown daughters, or consists of gifts from the children.

"The girl's clothing is very pretty and suitable judging from what family showed visitor, and what she wore at interview. The older sister at home made her five dresses last spring, from scraps picked up at sales. Much of her underwear is silk and rayon, gifts from relatives and friends. All family present a good appearance."

Housing.....		147
Own home, clear—taxes, \$98; repair, \$49 (family did all work of repair)		
A six-room house, with all modern conveniences, bath, sink, gas, electricity—Grade A		
Fuel and light.....		117
Coal—three tons.....	\$42	
Hauling and sawing railroad ties.....	36	
Electricity.....	27	
Gas.....	12	
Furniture and household supplies.....		36
One chair.....	\$30	
Sewing machine repair.....	1	
Laundry.....	5	
House comfortable and attractively furnished		
Medical service.....		66
Mother—major operation (no explanation of low cost).....	\$36	
Medicine.....	27	
Girl—dental work.....	3	
Unclassified items.....		52
Telephone (occupational expense for foreman).....	\$37	
Taxes, not property.....	7	
Garden expenses.....	8	
"Sundries".....		538
Insurance (has policy with union, premium included in dues)		
Savings (plans to save \$500 per year—has no pension rights and must provide for old age).....	\$400	
Union dues.....	18	
Church and charity.....	11	
Carfare to church.....	10	

Gifts, chiefly at Christmas.....	35
Education.....	15
Newspapers, \$13; magazine, \$1; school incidentals, \$1	
Recreation	20
Movies—father weekly, girl monthly	\$18
School play—scout dues, etc.....	2
Unaccounted for	29
<i>Total expenditure.....</i>	<i>\$1,635</i>

The most striking item in these accounts is the \$400 saved, a figure which is almost exactly that of their surplus over the budget estimate. As indicated above, the savings program is carefully planned, and is held to quite consistently in spite of the pressure exerted by the girl at home and her older brothers and sisters to spend on the scale at which their friends are spending. The parents would like to give the children what they want but feel that the most important thing is to lay by for the future so that they will not be a burden on the children.

The parents plan to send the girl of twelve to normal school or college. All of the older children, of whom there are three, have had a good education. The oldest boy, now thirty-two, had a four-year dental course after he completed high school, and is now a practicing dentist; the other two both had two years at normal school after graduation from high school.

The family gave some interesting glimpses of their past, which show that they have always been the thrifty, hard-working type they are at present. They reported that they have always saved every cent possible and made an extra penny in any way they could contrive. They had had a cow and sold milk; they kept chickens; they lived for years on farms to eke out the father's earnings; they kept boarders. The two periods of greatest strain in the family affairs were caused by illness, once when the father had an operation which laid him up for two months, once when one of the children was sick for a whole winter and the family had hospital expenses of \$4.00 a day in addition to the surgeon's charges. Both times, however, they were able to meet the costs from their savings.

Family 317.—The family, who live in Kentucky, consists of a young couple, both native-born, aged thirty-one and twenty-eight, respectively, and their two children, aged eight and four. The man has worked as a section hand off and on since 1919 and has worked at it steadily since 1925.

EXPENDITURES OF TEN RAILROAD LABORERS 61

INCOME:

Father's earnings.....	\$ 736
Maintenance work (rate 33½ cents per hour).....	\$721
Lost 102 days including Sundays and holidays.	
Lay off Christmas 10 days. Wife's illness 6 days, own illness 7 days. Overtime (estimated) 20 hours at 50 cents, 10 hours at 33½ cents	
Other—substituted for wife while she was ill.....	15

Mother's earnings (11 months).....	165
------------------------------------	-----

Caretaker of railroad station \$15 per month and rent and coal. Duties—keep waiting-room clean and heated, flag one morning and one evening train, be on hand when another evening train stops to discharge passengers	
---	--

Receipts from boarder (father's nephew) 39 weeks at \$5.25	205
Receipts from live stock: profits on cow, \$25.00; milk sold, \$1.00.....	26

<i>Total cash income</i>	\$1,132
--------------------------------	---------

Income in kind, fuel, rent, home products (estimated value)	225
---	-----

<i>Grand total—value</i>	\$1,357
--------------------------------	---------

BUDGET ESTIMATE.....	\$1,197
----------------------	---------

SURPLUS OVER ESTIMATE.....	160
----------------------------	-----

EXPENDITURES:

Food.....	\$395
-----------	-------

This is 32 cents per man per day

Also had milk, eggs, vegetables, including potatoes,
raised by family—estimated value \$110. Diet, Grade A
Expenditure per pay period varied from \$9.00 to \$23.00,
depending on persons present, cow, and garden yield

Clothing.....	225
---------------	-----

Father.....	\$76
-------------	------

Overcoat, \$5.00; suit (second hand), \$12.00; shoes
(4), \$16.00; hats, \$8.00; overalls, \$9.00; work
gloves, \$6.00; shirts, \$9.00; underwear and socks,
\$8.75; miscellaneous, \$2.00

Mother.....	86
-------------	----

Coat, \$20.00; sweater, \$5.00; house dresses, \$5.00;
other dresses, \$18.00; shoes (4), \$17.00; underwear
and stockings, \$13.00; hat, \$5.00; miscellaneous,
\$3.00

Children.....	63
---------------	----

Both had coats, \$15.00; caps, \$6.00; 12 homemade
dresses, \$9.00; shoes, \$18.00; stockings and under-
wear, \$11.00; rubbers, \$4.00. Grade A

Rent.....	Free
-----------	------

Earned by mother—3 rooms, 1 sleeping room occupied by
family of five including one adult relative. Have own
toilet—outside privy; no sink—water supply is well,
shared by three families. Grade C

Fuel and light	10
Oil, \$10.00; have coal and wood as part payment for mother's services	
Furniture and household operation	154
Furniture, sheets, mattress, chairs.....	\$ 31
Household supplies.....	11
Help with housework.....	112
Clothes to laundry, \$63.00; help in the home, \$49.00. Mother in poor health—had to have help	
Medical services (not itemized separately).....	131
Mother had stomach ulcer, and ovarian trouble, was in hospital 15 days, had 4 doctors	
Father had "stomach attacks," doctor treated 4 times	
Expenses of garden and live stock	77
Cow feed.....	\$57
Chickens—bought.....	4
Chicken feed.....	12
Garden.....	4
Payment on old debt (net)	47
Actually paid \$90.00; old doctor bill, part of it from past savings	
"Sundries"	114
Insurance (face value, \$2,200—every member insured).....	\$62
Organization dues	23
Father belongs to Odd Fellows and Masons. Paid Union dues 3 quarters, discontinued on account of expenses	
Church	14
Education	13
School supplies, \$4.00; newspaper and magazines, \$9.00	
Recreation	2
Father and child of eight—6 movies at \$0.30	
<i>Total expenditure</i>	<i>\$1,153</i>

This is \$21 in excess of their reported income in cash. Agent notes that family seemed certain of the items of the expenditure. Father had no record of earnings and might have underestimated by this amount, or cumulative errors in estimates of expenditures might account for excess

Family reports that for the last 2 years mother had not been well and these have been the hardest financially in their experience. Before her illness family tried to save \$10 a month, but sometimes bought things for their home instead. Parents are ambitious for children; they try to dress little girl of eight as well as other children in the school and on the whole feel that they are respected in the community. Father says that the extra

they earn for taking care of the railroad station enables them to make out pretty well except in times of heavy expense caused by illness. He feels however that his earnings at maintenance work should be sufficient to support the family decently.

Family 142.—A native American family in Minnesota consists of the father, aged twenty-eight, the mother aged twenty-nine, and one child, a boy of seven.

INCOME:

Father's earnings on tracks.....	\$712
Pay checks as follows:	

	Total	First Pay	Second Pay
December, 1927.....	\$ 15.60	\$15.60	.....
January, 1928.....	14.15	14.15	.....
February, 1928.....	15.93	14.85	\$ 1.08
March, 1928.....	23.59	18.13	5.46
April, 1928.....	75.58	34.53	41.05
May, 1928.....	107.28	44.06	63.22
June, 1928.....	113.90	71.20	42.61
July, 1928.....	82.35	46.59	35.76
August, 1928.....	56.39	11.57	44.82
September, 1928.....	76.04	37.81	38.23
October, 1928.....	82.53	41.09	41.44
November, 1928.....	32.48	29.20	3.28
Total.....	\$695.82		

This is less than his total earnings by \$16.65. This amount was deducted by the company: \$8.40 for insurance in the Benevolent Association of Railway Employees, and \$8.25 as a hospital fee.

During winter months he worked approximately five days per month; earnings were high in May and June because he operated weed burner part of the time at \$0.54½ per hour.

Other earnings of father—cutting logs, odd days.....	36
<i>Total cash income.....</i>	<i>748</i>
Income in kind, rent, fuel, garden products, (estimated value).....	255

<i>Grand total—value.....</i>	<i>\$1,003</i>
-------------------------------	----------------

BUDGET ESTIMATE 1,018

DEFICIT Negligible

EXPENDITURES:

Food.....	298
-----------	-----

Also had garden products and eggs with an estimated value over \$100. Eggs abundant, 5 to 7 dozen per week.

Potatoes (year's supply), other vegetables in season.

Food, Grade B

Clothing (expenditure for all but mother below budget)...	161
---	-----

Father..... \$56

Hats, \$3.00; sweater, \$5.00; shoes (2), \$7.50; overalls (3), \$6.00; work gloves (20), \$7.00; shirts

HELEN RUSSELL WRIGHT

(2), \$2.00; underwear (4), \$11.50; extra pants, \$3.75; rubber boots (2), \$4.50; socks (10), \$3.50; Work jumper, \$2.00 (does not buy underwear every year)	
Mother	78
Coat, \$40.00 (had old one 12 years); house dresses (4), homemade, \$4.00; other dresses (2), homemade, \$5.00; shoes (2), \$10.00; house slippers, \$2.00; stockings (4), cotton, \$1.60; (3) silk, \$3.75; underwear (homemade), \$5.25; hat, \$3.00; rubbers and galoshes, \$3.50	
Boy (age seven)	27
Cap, \$1.25; lumberjack, \$2.00; shoes (2), \$5.00; stockings (6), \$2.00; underwear (2), \$3.00; night clothes (homemade), \$1.50; rubbers, \$2.60; pants and overalls, \$8.00; blouses (4), \$2.00	
Rent	Free
Relatives give rent, 2-room shack, no water on premises.	
Grade C.	
Fuel and light	42
Right to cut stumpage and hauling of wood	30
Gasoline	12
Summer—1 gal. week for stove	\$3.97
1 gal. month for lamp	1.05
Winter—5 gals. month (7 months) for lamps	7.35
Furniture	14
Sheets, six, homemade	\$ 2
Dining-room table, seconhand	12
Care of health (dentistry for mother)	1
Garden expenses	45
Chicken feed every 3 weeks	\$34
Hens	11
"Sundries"	187
Insurance	\$30
Includes hospital fee and sickness and accident policy of father	
Savings	40
This will be used during the lean months—had \$125 July 1 from earnings since April. See income statement	
Upkeep of automobile—gas only	37
Family has cheap car, three years old, bought seconhand	
Church	7
Mother and child attend regularly every two weeks, 25 cents to collection	

EXPENDITURES OF TEN RAILROAD LABORERS 65

Recreation.....	36
Whole family go to "movies" Saturday nights	
Education.....	1
Supplies for child at school (15 cents per month)	
Unaccounted for.....	36
Some for housekeeping supplies, should not be here	
 <i>Total expenditure.....</i>	 \$748

Family reports this is least on which they could live. Hope father will be foreman soon, as he is now first man on gang. A foreman's wage of \$120 per month would enable them to live "decently." First demands are better house and more food.

Family 440.—This native American family in Pennsylvania consists of the father, mother, a boy aged eight, the son of the mother by a former marriage, and a baby a year old, son of the mother's brother whose wife died in child-birth. His father clothes him and gives his sister occasional gifts as payment for taking care of him. The father of the family who has also been married before, has a son aged twelve who lives with his grandfather, but for whose clothing his father is responsible.

Agent notes that "this is one of the most accurate schedules agent has taken. Family keep all their received bills in order. Father spent an entire evening before schedule was taken working out estimates of his expenses. Always plans expenditures in advance."

INCOME:

Father's earnings.....	\$1,017
Forty cents per hour, May 9-July 15—2 holidays, 2 days lost (est.), 10 Sundays.....	\$169.60
Forty-two cents per hour, July 15—February 15—4 holidays, 3 days lost (est.), 31 Sundays.....	594.72
Forty-three cents per hour, February 15—May 9—1 holiday, 2 days lost, 11 Sundays.....	237.36
Overtime: 3 weeks (est.), 8 hours at time and a half on 42 cent rate.....	15.12

<i>Total income in cash</i>	<i>\$1,017</i>
Income in kind, chickens and garden products (est.).....	55

<i>Grand total—value</i>	<i>\$1,072</i>
BUDGET ESTIMATE.....	1,252

DEFICIT.....	180
--------------	-----

EXPENDITURES:

Food	367
This is 30 cents per man per day. Also had 86 dozen eggs during year and garden vegetables for three to four months. Diet, Grade B	

Clothing (including clothing for boy twelve not living at home)	151
Father	\$28
Shoes (2). \$8.50; overalls and work trousers, \$4.50; work gloves, \$1.50; shirts (3), \$4.75; underwear (3), \$3.46; rubber boots, \$1.50; jumper, \$1.50; socks, \$0.99	
Mother	52
Coat, \$15.00; house dresses (1), \$0.75; other dresses (2), \$17.75; shoes (2), \$8.50; stockings (5), \$4.00; hat, (1), \$2.40; underwear (6), \$3.64	
Children (boy twelve, boy eight)	71
Coats (2), \$13.50; sweater, \$2.96; suits (2), \$24; shoes (5), \$11.00; stockings (10), \$2.50; underwear (8), \$3.96; galoshes (2), \$4.78; extra pants and overalls, \$3.85; blouses (6) \$3.14; miscellaneous, \$1. — Agent's notes are as follows: "Father's best coat, hat, shoes, and suit are left from his wedding. His gloves are badly worn but he can't get a new pair until payday after this one. Mother's coat was paid for out of their savings. Her best dresses are good looking. She washes them herself and is very careful of them. She has fallen arches and has a hard time finding built-up shoes at a low price. Her mother and brother gave her night-gowns. Last spring she bought a felt hat so that she could wear it for winter too. Child's Sunday shoes have been half-soled twice and patched once. His winter underwear is very ragged. Mother had to wash and dry a pair of socks quickly so that he could dress up and go to an entertainment."	
Rent	96
Eight-room house, only 2 rooms used, outside toilet, well; electricity, grade A.	
Fuel and light	43
Six tons coal at \$5.00	\$30
Pick up wood in nearby woods	
Electricity	13
Furniture and household supplies	142
Bed, 2 pillows, a shoe-repairing kit, and 2 "scooters" (children's) bought secondhand when neighbor moved	\$ 8
Monthly payments on furniture bought when married	120
Soap, 59 cents per pay period	14
Family has only 2 roller towels and 3 sheets; 1 sheet hung in front of shelf where pans are kept. Haven't been able to get cretonne yet. Furniture only enough for two rooms	
Care of health	23
Doctor bill (record)	\$22
All had colds, one child had bronchial cough.	
Mother had ulcers in mouth	
Dentist for boy eight	1

EXPENDITURES OF TEN RAILROAD LABORERS 67

Child eight needs glasses; father has bridge work in mouth that is so loose it moves when he chews; mother does not feel well. Are hoping to get medical attention pay day after next

Garden expenses:	
Chicken feed (based on record for 4 months).....	19
Taxes (school, county, and borough).....	16
“Sundries”	196
Insurance-policies for all the family.....	\$92
Other savings—\$2.00 month for railroad stock for 8 months.....	16
Upkeep of automobile.....	59
License, \$11; gasoline, 8 gal. per pay day for 10 months, \$37.00; tire and tube bill, \$11.00 (no estimate for oil) (father bought car in 1923 before he worked for railroad)	
Church	6
Tobacco 50 cents per pay day period.....	12
Unaccounted for incidentals	11
 Total expenditures	 \$1,053

The excess over reported income (\$36) was secured by drawing \$27 from previous savings, and by a gift of \$9 from relatives.

“Father does not know what to do. Every day he gets more and more disgusted. In this part of the country he can’t find another job and he has no money to go elsewhere.”

Family 198.—An American family, living in Minnesota, consists of the parents, a daughter aged twenty, a son aged seventeen, and 6 children under sixteen, the eldest aged fifteen, the youngest three. The daughter aged twenty works as a stenographer in a lawyer’s office, but the boy seventeen is still in school, completing the high-school course. The father’s hobby is keeping accounts, as he says they couldn’t get along at all if he did not. Furthermore, according to his wife, he enjoys keeping the books. Unfortunately he had thrown his 1928 accounts away two weeks before the schedule was taken, but the agent reported that she thought the schedule was unusually accurate because he and his wife had discussed their expenditures thoroughly.

INCOME:

Father’s earnings 11 months as foreman at \$120; \$35 overtime.....	\$1,355
(One month lost from industrial accident, did not apply for compensation; had medical service from railroad.)	
Earnings of girl twenty.....	527
Earnings of boys, seventeen and fifteen.....	80

(Dug potatoes and did odd jobs in summer.)

Accident benefit for father (see above)	50
Dividends from stock in public utility corporation.....	12
<i>Total income in cash</i>	<i>\$2,024</i>
Income in kind (fuel and garden products) estimated value	180
<i>Grand total—value</i>	<i>\$2,204</i>
BUDGET ESTIMATE	2,386
DEFICIT	182
EXPENDITURES:	
Food	\$662
This is cost of 18 cents per man per day, but family also has liberal yield of potatoes and other vegetables from their garden, e.g., canned 40 quarts of tomatoes, 40 quarts of cucumbers, stored 7 bushels of potatoes, 5 gallons of sauerkraut, "a great many squash and pumpkins." Diet, Grade B—little milk	
Clothing (not much more than one-half the budget allowance)	275
Father	\$34
Hat (1), \$3.50; shoes (2), \$7.00; overalls (4), \$6.00; work gloves (7), \$3.70; shirts (3), \$3.75; underwear (2), \$2.00; night clothing (1), \$1.25; socks (10), \$3.05; rubber boots (1), \$3.50	
Mother	36
Coat, \$20.00; shoes, \$3.00; stockings, \$1.00; underwear (homemade), \$1.00; hat, \$3.00; galoshes, \$4.00; silk stockings, \$0.85; miscellaneous, \$3.00	
Children (including boy seventeen, girl fifteen)	205
Coat (1), \$4.00; sweaters (3), \$12.00; dresses (homemade), \$9.00; suit (boy seventeen), \$22.00; shoes (25), \$72.00; stockings, \$12.60; underwear, \$9.00; galoshes (6), \$6.85; extra pants, \$36.00; overalls, \$3.00; blouses and shirts, \$18.50. Grade C — Agent notes as follows about the family clothing: Father has warm shirts and underwear but did not buy them schedule year. His extra pants are made out of some heavy cloth used in a process in paper manufacturing. A relative works there and sent him the cloth when it could not be used there any more. Mother makes pants: they are very warm. Mother wears eldest daughter's old stockings around the house. Has warm underwear from last year. Makes other underwear and night clothes from flour sacks. Daughter bought her a pair of rayon bloomers. Mother has made and made over all her girls' dresses. Mother takes a great deal of pains to make over clothes nicely. Two youngest children had pretty gingham dresses with embroidery, pleats, and bloomers.	
Rent	180
Six-room frame house, in need of paint, 1 acre of ground. Has electricity, no plumbing. Grade B	

EXPENDITURES OF TEN RAILROAD LABORERS 69

Fuel and light	70
Coal, 4 tons at \$11.00. Had ties, a friend hauled them, father cut with a friend's machine, gas cost \$2.16; electricity seven months at \$2.10, five months at \$1.75	
Furniture	65
Heater for parlor—total cost, \$96.00; finished paying 1928—\$60.00	\$60
Blanket	5
(No report on minor articles)	—
House clean, neat, comfortable. Linoleum in three rooms, carpet and braided rugs in front room; heavy leather chair, bright cover on old leather couch; family pictures; desk with papers neatly arranged	
Medical service	20
Child with running ear—doctor once \$1.00	\$1
Child with sore on face—doctor once \$1.00	1
Diphtheria immunization (4 children)	3
Dentist (mother and boy seventeen)	15
Father also had medical attention when hurt, but railroad paid doctor. School reported one child underweight. Child's ear still troubling	—
Personal expenses of daughter aged twenty	510
Girl gives her mother and others clothing—makes no regular contribution to family	
"Sundries"	242
Insurance	\$71
Father's hospital fee, \$17.40; group insurance for \$1,500—\$8.40; other life and accident, \$37.60.	
Total on father, value \$4,500	
Children (5) \$7.00—\$1,000 all told, carried seven months	
Savings—\$5.00 per month to building and loan society	60
Have been doing this 4 years	
Upkeep of automobile	13
This was total reported—but see unaccounted for item. It is an old car of make no longer on market and is used very little	
Recreation	14
Movies (boy seventeen, girl fifteen, go three times per month, others "occasionally")	
Church	
Mother "excused" from regular church contribution because of large family	
Education	19
Fifty cents per month for paper and pencils for school children, 15 cents per month "tax" for eldest boy	
Newspaper 45 cents per month	
Unaccounted for	62
Most of this probably belongs in "sundries" although some perhaps in household supplies	—
Total expenditure	\$2,024

The father of this family has been a foreman for 16 years. They say they have for years been in much the same condition as they are now. They have had no bad luck and no prolonged sickness. They hoped to be able to save more but \$460 is all they have saved in 16 years.

It will be observed that recreation and also expenses about which the family has any choice are kept at minimum, as well as food, clothing, and housing. The smallness of the eldest daughter's contribution to the family is approved by the family. She is young and pretty, and the family are proud of her.

Family 311.—A native white family in Kentucky consists of the parents, 2 children, both girls, aged thirteen and eleven, and an unmarried son living at home. For 2 months of the year a married daughter whose husband deserted her lived in the home with her five children. As there are only 3 rooms in the dwelling the crowding has been serious. It is made worse by the fact that a fourth room under the same roof, intended as part of the dwelling, is occupied by a married son, also a section laborer, and his family with 2 children. Although their housekeeping is independent the families are much together. Agent reports that on her several visits "the house seemed a mass of children and one always crying." The father said that sometimes he thinks he will "go straight up and never come down" with the noise and extra expense, but he couldn't bear to refuse the children when they needed a home.

INCOME:

Father's earnings (based on record of time and overtime)	\$675
Mother's earnings	243
Washing 24 weeks at \$6; 18 weeks at \$3; 10 weeks at \$4.	
Picking turkeys for market—2 days for \$5. Mother was ill as a child; it left her feet badly twisted so that she cannot wear shoes. She wears several pairs of stockings and makes a "shoe" of old rags. Her feet get very tired and sore, but she continues to take in washings, kneeling in a chair to do the work. Father is "ashamed" that his wife has to work	
Earnings of boy, eighteen, living at home	321
Worked about 6 months of the year as a laborer, on railroad and in grocery warehouse. He stopped school at age fourteen, when he was in the fifth grade. The county nurse made arrangements to have him excused because he acted so badly that none could manage him. He has had jobs from time to time, but has worked more steadily the summer of the study than at any previous time. Father speaks of him as a "bad boy"	
Total income in cash	\$1,239
Income in kind (fuel and rent, estimated value)	80
<i>Grand total—value</i>	\$1,319

BUDGET FOR FAMILY (without daughter and 5 children —2 months).....	1,426
DEFICIT	107
BUDGET (with allowance for dependents 2 months).....	1,526
DEFICIT	207

Actually, however, son aged eighteen gave very little to family, \$50 all told, and was dependent on family purse for board and room only. Subtracting \$270 from the income (the amount he kept for himself), and estimating the budget to allow for his board only, the result is:

INCOME (total value)	1,049
BUDGET (without dependent relatives)	1,342
DEFICIT	293
BUDGET (with dependent relatives—2 months).....	1,442
DEFICIT	393

EXPENDITURES:

Food	631
This is 33 cents per man per day. Grade C	

Clothing—Grade C for whole family.....	76
--	----

Father.....	\$34
Mother.....	19
Children (girls thirteen and eleven).....	23

Father's overcoat not fit for Sunday. Gift of a relative secondhand. Worn only to work. Father bought a suit

3 years ago for \$24.50, took 2 years to pay for it. Father

will not go to church in winter because he is ashamed

of his clothes. Mother described herself as "quilting"

his shirts and overalls, instead of patching them

Mother's coat was a gift from church, dresses from her

daughters, all secondhand. Five new hats in 4 years.

No shoes because crippled

Child's coat and hat were given by her married sister

Rent (see above—housing, grade B)	Free
Fuel and light	48

Coal 6 tons.....	\$41
------------------	------

Oil for lamps, 6 months 2 gals.; 6 months 1 gal. per pay period	7
Also use railroad ties	—

Furniture and housekeeping items	24
Mattress and 2 blankets—(total cost \$23.00) paid out	\$ 7
Soap—70 cents per pay period	17

Care of health	35
Girl thirteen—typhoid—doctor 3 times.....	\$ 6
Son eighteen—"indigestion"—doctor once.....	2
Married daughter—"flu"—doctor 4 times.....	8
Medicine.....	1
Mother and 2 children, dentist.....	12
Father—glasses.....	6

Family go to doctor as little as possible; children, pale, thin, underdeveloped

HELEN RUSSELL WRIGHT

"Sundries"	212
Insurance	\$87
Carry insurance on older children who have left home as well as on all members at home—several policies on father. Plan to give up some on older children before another winter	
Union dues	18
Church	16
Father would rather pay his union dues than eat; mother feels the same way about church	
Recreation—phonograph—(total cost \$95) paid out	38
The phonograph was bought by son eighteen but father had to sign papers. Mother urged him to do it hoping it would have a "steady influence"	
Education—school books \$4.00; tablets, pencils, \$4.50	9
Tobacco—70 cents per pay	17
Unaccounted-for incidentals	27
	<hr/>

Total expenditures (exclusive of expenditure of son aged eighteen) \$1,026

This is \$55.00 in excess of total money income. Family ran in debt to this amount; owe doctor, dentist, grocer, and clothing store. Also borrowed \$10.00 from friends. Also have old debts, incurred before schedule year, bringing their total indebtedness to \$160.00. Agent notes "have never been completely out of debt; always go in debt in winter and start in spring to pay it back."

Family 460.—A native white family living in a small Connecticut town consists of the parents and 7 children, the eldest aged eleven, the youngest, one year. The man's father, who is foreman of the gang, is about to retire and his son expects to succeed him. They are well known and highly respected in the community.

INCOME:

Father's earnings on the section	\$1,239
Assistant foreman and trackwalker \$23.52 per week; lost 17 days in the winter at \$3.92, overtime, \$82.00	
Father's other earnings	218
Member of town police (\$3.00 per arrest)	\$18
Repair of cars at garage	200
	<hr/>

(Works 4-5 hours "almost every night" in summer-time, sometimes all day on Sundays)

<i>Total income in cash</i>	\$1,457
Income in kind (fuel, estimated value)	25
	<hr/>
<i>Grand total—value</i>	\$1,482
<i>BUDGET ESTIMATE</i>	1,936
<i>DEFICIT</i>	454

EXPENDITURES OF TEN RAILROAD LABORERS 73

EXPENDITURES:

Food	936
Expenditure 30 cents per man per day, Grade A—mother wants children to get gold star at school for milk and fruit eaten. Also have occasional gifts of vegetables from neighbors' gardens	
Clothing (just about one-half the budget allowance)	195
Father (above budget allowance by \$24.00).....	\$94
Shoes (6), \$27.00; work gloves (52), \$13.00; overalls and work pants, \$19.00; stockings, \$10.80; rubber boots, \$6.95; underwear and night clothes, \$7.00; shirts, \$3.00; sweater, \$4.50; hats, \$3.50	
Mother	21
Dress, \$7.88; shoes (1), \$3.45; hat, \$3.56; scarf, \$1.95; night dresses and underwear, \$3.00; stockings, 75 cents; also had some gifts	
Children (7)	80
Lumber jacks (3), \$10.50; shoes (22), \$31.00; stockings, \$6.40; underwear and night clothes, \$12.00; rubbers (12), \$7.93; overalls and pants, \$9.00; blouses, \$1.00; miscellaneous, \$2.00. Grade B	
Sister-in-law gave father his best overcoat, the other is one which belonged to a brother who died. His raincoat really belongs to his father. His suit is 3 years old. Mother's best dress this year was the first dress she had ever had ready-made. Her house dresses are very simple and pretty. She makes most of the clothing from remnants bought at bargain sales for which she watches. She made her two little felt hats from 20-cent strips of felt. Children change their underwear twice a week. There are half a dozen paternal and maternal relatives who bring bags of partly worn clothing outgrown by their own children, or family could not manage	
Rent	120
\$10.00 per month for 4-room house, own toilet (outside privy), sink in house, gas. Mother's chief longing is for a better house. Grade B	
Fuel and light	90
Coal—3 tons anthracite.....	\$45
Also use railroad ties—father saws them with gas engine belonging to his father	
Gas \$3.75 per month.....	45
Furniture and household operation	40
One dozen sheets and pillow cases—sheets, \$15.00, pillow cases, \$7.00. Clothes to wet wash, \$1.00 per week for 18 weeks. This is first time mother has not done her own washing. One day this winter her husband came home and found her hardly able to straighten up after a day at washboard. He threatened to throw both her and washboard out of window if she ever did it again	

Care of health	17
Medicines for minor ailments	\$3
Visit to doctor after birth of last child	3
Mother—dental work	11
Personal tax [poll tax?]	2
"Sundries"	97
No insurance or savings, no organization dues (mother wishes they could manage insurance, at least on father)	
Education	\$15
Newspapers at 29 cents per week. School furnishes all supplies needed	
Church	11
Personal expenses (father, tobacco 45 cents per week)	23
(Mother cuts hair for whole family)	
Funeral flowers for friend	3
Unaccounted for	45
<i>Total expenditure</i>	\$1,497

The \$40 more than cash income reported is accounted for by a gift of \$40 in cash from relatives. Most of the relatives are better off financially than this family.

Family 444.—This family of Austrian Slavs live in a little town of Pennsylvania. There are 8 children, the eldest fifteen, still in school, the 2 youngest (twins) aged two.

INCOME:

Father's earnings	\$1,034
Worked May 9-July 15 at 40 cents per hour. Missed 1 day, 2 holidays, 17 Sundays	\$173
July 15-Feb. 15 at 42 cents. Three days lost, 4 holidays, 31 Sundays	595
Feb. 15-May 9—43 cents hours. One holiday, 11 Sundays	244
Overtime (estimated)	22
Earnings of boy aged fifteen	10
Three days for farmer (12 hours a day)	\$3.00
Picking berries	1.50
Washing windows for school	5.00
Earnings of girl aged twelve	5
(Picked berries [time not given])	
Receipts from boarder 12 months at \$32.00	384
Sale of calf	11
<i>Total cash receipts</i>	\$1,444
Income in kind (have garden, cow, chickens), estimated value	200
<i>Grand total—value</i>	\$1,644

EXPENDITURES OF TEN RAILROAD LABORERS 75

BUDGET.....	2,340
DEFICIT.....	696

EXPENDITURES:

Food.....	\$906
This is 22 cents per man per day. Also have eggs, milk, and vegetables (estimated value \$200). Grade A	
Clothing (far below budget, not over one-third).....	188
Father (just above the budget allowance).....	\$75
Hats (2), \$5.50; shoes (3), \$12.00; overalls (6), \$10.50; jumpers (6), \$9.00; work gloves (12), \$9.00; shirts (6), \$10.60; underwear (5), \$6.00; rubber boots, \$4.50; socks, \$1.80; miscellaneous, \$6.00	
Mother.....	10
Shoes (1), \$2.85; hat, \$2.95; 4 house dresses, \$1.80; 1 other dress, \$1.60; 3 pairs stockings, 70 cents (all dresses homemade)	
Children (boys fifteen, ten, eight, six, four, two; girls twelve, two).....	103

(Largest items are 24 pairs shoes, \$44.50; 51 pairs stockings, \$10.80. Grade C)

Father's coat bought in 1920, his suit in 1916.

Mother's coats 3 and 6 years old. Mother makes all her own underwear from flour sacks. None of children has really warm clothes. Mother buys cloth for her own and girl's dresses in remnant sale. Girl's new dress is an orange rayon trimmed with lavender voile, lace, and gold buttons—total cost 85 cents. Boy, aged ten, has new suit for first communion. Eldest boy's suit is much too tight for him. Each child has only one suit of real underwear. They wear things that mother has made when that is in the wash

Girl has a clean dress every day for school. Three youngest children are dressed in nondescript little dresses made out of old cloth. Mother makes all the shirts. She makes over clothes for boys aged eight and six especially. Day of interview the eight-year-old had a shirt made of several of father's old ones. Because of fading, different parts of the shirt were different shades of blue. Only two eldest children wear summer underwear. Three boys had on badly patched pants. Mother said that the hardest part of keeping the family was dressing the children well enough to go to school. Mother crocheted sweater for girl of twelve out of old yarn. The boarder gives her his old clothes to make over

Housing.....	89
--------------	----

Own house—7-room, unpainted frame house, has sink in house, toilet on premises, electricity, crowded (7 rooms, 4 sleeping rooms, 11 persons). Grade B

Payments: \$25.00 interest, \$62.00 taxes (not all properly chargeable to property, include head and personal property taxes but family could not separate items)

Wall paper for kitchen \$2.00—family put it on

Roof leaks but they can't fix it now

Fuel and light	72
Coal—7 "loads" approximately 3,000 lbs. at \$7.00	\$49
Electricity—6 months at \$2.00; 6 months at \$1.50	21
Kerosene—1 gal. per month for night light	2
 Furniture and housekeeping items.....	28
Rag rugs (cost of weaving—own rags)	\$ 6
Blankets (2)	10
Soap	12
 Medical services.....	35
Mother—sore throat—visit to doctor	\$ 2
Father—"flu"—visit to doctor and medicine	3
Child aged six—vaccination	1
Children aged fifteen and twelve—dental work	17
Child aged twelve—glasses	12
Feed for cow and chickens.....	142
Chicken feed—100 lbs. "scratch feed" per month at \$3.00	36
Cow—100 lbs. feed per month at \$2.50	30
Pasture rent \$2.50 per month for 6 months	15
Hay—2 loads	55
Rent of field from which mother cut grass for hay	5
 "Sundries"	259
Insurance	\$94
Father has \$1,500 life, mother \$1,000, children each \$350. Father's and mother's policies also pay sick- ness and accident benefit	
Investment—8 payments at \$5.00 for stock in rail- road	40
Father says he does not know whether purchase of stock is compulsory. He was willing to buy it be- cause he made something on it last time. He plans to sell this as soon as he owns it clear and can get more than \$50.00 for it (this was before the stock market crash in 1929)	
Church	17
Regular contributions of \$1.00 per month; special collections \$5.00. Family very much interested in church, always have local Easter festival at their house	
Automobile hire	21
Once for mother to go to doctor, about 20 times to take family to church	
Tobacco—10 cents worth every other pay day	18
Unaccounted for	69
(This probably went for incidentals—possibly something for recreation, although town offers little)	
Total expenditure	\$1,719

EXPENDITURES OF TEN RAILROAD LABORERS 77

This is \$275 in excess of the reported income, accounted for by debts incurred as follows:

Grocer.....	\$83
Taxes past due.....	50
Interest on mortgage.....	25
Bill at clothing store.....	7
Borrowed from boarder for insurance payments—small amounts at a time.....	60
Borrowed from relatives (used to buy clothing).....	50

Mother explained that family went into debt more this year than others because food and clothing cost more as the children grew older.

Family 452.—A Czecho-Slovakian family with 6 children between the ages of eleven and one live in a small town in Pennsylvania.

INCOME:

Father's earnings.....	\$1,038
48 days at 40 cents per hour.....	\$154
255 days at 41 cents per hour.....	836
Missed 7 holidays, 3 work days (headaches)	
Overtime—5 twelve-hour nights for snow (time and a half).....	37
Three calls for setting rails—3 hours (time and a half).....	11
Earnings of child aged eleven.....	3
(Picked wild berries and sold them)	
Total income in cash.....	\$1,042
Income in kind (fuel, garden products, chickens) estimated at.....	60
<i>Grand total—value.....</i>	<i>\$1,102</i>

BUDGET..... 1,716

DEFICIT..... 614

EXPENDITURES:

Food.....	\$677
This is 24 cents per man per day, and family have had in addition some eggs and a few vegetables. Diet, Grade C	
Clothing (about one-half budget allowance).....	152
Father.....	\$55
Mother.....	19
Children—Grade C.....	78

Father hasn't a Sunday overcoat. Bought his suit some years earlier when working in Connecticut. Hasn't been able to buy summer shirts and underwear yet and has now only one work shirt. Every year mother's mother gives her clothes. She is working and has no one to support so she can do this. Schedule year she sent mother cloth for 2 housedresses, 20 yards dress goods for children, 20 yards petticoat cloth, 20 yards jersey from which mother made underwear. Only 1 child wears warm underwear, 2 eldest

won't. Their coats are light and they wear cotton dresses all winter. Girl 11 wanted some silk stockings so mother got her a pair for \$1.50 which she tore the first Sunday she wore them. Children seemed ragged and dirty to agent

Rent.....	65
Seven months at \$5.00; 5 months at \$6.00 (after electricity installed); 3-room house, 1 sleeping room, outside privy toilet, no sink—electricity installed during year of study. Housing, Grade C	
Fuel and light.....	32
Three "loads" (about 1½ tons) coal at \$6.00..... \$18.00	
Wood—3 loads railroad ties, hauling..... 2.25	
Electricity—5 months at \$1.25..... 6.25	
Kerosene—7 months 2 gals. per pay..... 5.60	
Housekeeping items.....	8
Soap—15 cents per week	
Medical service.....	9
Child aged four had face cut by an accident—3 times to doctor..... \$6	
Mother, girl eleven, girl four, to dentist..... 3	
Personal taxes (father \$14.00, mother \$6.00).....	20
Chicken feed (\$3.00 sack per month).....	36
Wall paper for house (5 rolls at 20 cents, mother put it on).....	20
"Sundries".....	164
Insurance—on father only—value \$1,650 but includes sickness and accident benefit..... \$53	
Other saving \$2.00 per month for 8 months for railroad stock..... 16	
Father could not afford \$5.00 payments but felt he must take the stock	
Church.....	18
Father gives \$1.00 every month; family put in 25 cents every Sunday they attend (24 Sundays)	
Transportation to church in other community.....	30
Go by train, fares 16 cents adults, 8 cents children, return by automobile, no train available, 75 cents for family. Went 24 times (estimate) during year	
Recreation.....	1
The only expenditure family could remember was 30 cents for 3 children in school to go to high-school operetta, and 55 cents for father and 3 children to go once to movies in nearest city	
Tobacco—3 packages at 25 cents per week.....	39
Hair cuts—girl eleven every 6 weeks at 35 cents; father every month at 35 cents.....	7
<i>Total expenditure.....</i>	<i>\$1,164</i>

This is \$122 greater than the reported income. Of this \$40 is accounted for by incurrence of debt, \$20 at the "store," \$20 borrowed from man's father, and the rest or \$82 was drawn from savings made in past.

The family lived for a time in Connecticut where father worked in a paper mill at 45 cents per hour, and mother worked in a factory. When they returned to Pennsylvania and the tracks in 1927—a year before the schedule year—they had \$300. The last of that was used to meet the expenses of the year.

It will be observed that the standards and the expenditure for all the physical necessities are very low and that there is little or nothing as compensation in other respects.

Both parents are uneducated and can neither read nor write. The father speaks English but his wife does not. It is apparent that she has little understanding of the care of children according to modern methods. All the children, for example, even the baby aged seventeen months, are given coffee and very little milk. The children go to bed irregularly "when tired"; the seventeen-month infant still nursing is fed whenever she calls for it. The day the schedule was taken the mother had decided to wean the child; in spite of the fact that it was her sixth child she had very little idea of how to go about it beyond refusing to take the child when she demanded it. The suggestion of substitution or gradual breaking off was quite new to her. She was evidently doing the best she knew how, for she held firmly to her purpose and endured the screams of the child.

Although there was relatively little sickness reported during the year, and little was spent for medical care, the children, especially the two oldest ones look anything but well. The eldest, a girl of eleven, is described as "thin, hollow-chested, noticeably stooped." The second, aged nine, is the one about whose health the family are really disturbed. She was reported underweight by the school doctor. She had a tonsillectomy in the year preceding the study and the doctor who performed the operation thought she would be better after that. She has not seemed better and gets thinner all the time. She is now "so thin, especially in the face, that she is really hideous. The skin is drawn tight over her cheek bones and she has deep creases around her mouth." Her mother said she coughs a good deal and her sister added "even in summer." Her parents are puzzled about her, and agent notes "anyone without medical training could see that she is in a terrible condition."

Family 505.—This Mexican family living in a Colorado camp consists of the parents and five children, the youngest aged three, the eldest eleven. Three of the children are of school age but there is no school available and only the eldest has ever been to school. He went "almost a year" when they lived in Kansas.

INCOME:	
Father's earnings.....	\$741
Lost time—52 Sundays, 6 holidays, 3 days sick, 12 days (24 half-days) getting pay. Overtime 14 hours (wreck) at time and a half	
No other income in cash	
Income in kind (rent and fuel) estimated value.....	120
<i>Grand total—value.....</i>	<i>\$861</i>
BUDGET.....	
<i>DEFICIT.....</i>	<i>1,480</i>
	<i>619</i>
EXPENDITURES:	
Food.....	432
This is 15 cents per man per day. Use no fresh milk, very little fruit or vegetables, e.g., have lettuce or cabbage a few times a year as a great treat. Diet, Grade C	
Clothing—a little more than one-half the budget allowance	
Father.....	205
Articles bought include chiefly work clothes, over- alls, gloves, shoes, socks, two shirts (homemade), underwear, 1 hat (\$2.00)	
Mother.....	3
One pair shoes, \$1.98; 4 pairs stockings, \$1.00; flour sacks made into underclothing	
Children—Grade B.....	159
Overalls (for three oldest boys), \$57.60; blouses, \$18.00; shoes, \$35.00; stockings, \$22.00; lumber jacks (for three oldest boys), \$7.50; underwear, \$17.00 (youngest have homemade); dresses, \$1.20; baby dresses, \$1.00	
Father's overcoat was bought in 1923. Father has had six pairs of overalls and two jackets in schedule year. Father says he usually buys mother one good pair of stockings at \$1.00, but hasn't been able to this year. Father says every two months he buys the three older children two pairs of overalls, two shirts, two suits underwear, and one pair of shoes apiece. Every pay day for about 8 months he buys two pairs stockings apiece for all children	
Rent.....	Free
Two rooms in a company house—no sanitary con- veniences. Water carried about one-half block. Share two toilets with four other families, one toilet for men, one for women. Housing, Grade C	
Fuel and light.....	6
Wood (railroad ties) given by railroad	
Kerosene for lamps 25 cents each pay	

EXPENDITURES OF TEN RAILROAD LABORERS 81

Furniture and housekeeping expenses.....	38
Blanket, \$4.50; dishes, \$1.00; rent of stove, \$12.00; household incidentals (not itemized), \$20.00	
Care of health.....	8
Child aged four, "flu"; doctor, \$5.00; medicine, \$3.00	
"Sundries".....	52
Insurance.....	\$ 9
Hospital fee 75 cents per month, provides medical care for father, no cash benefit. Has railroad group insurance—no premium—does not know amount	
Church.....	1
Father goes occasionally, has to walk to town and mother doesn't go	
Books.....	1
Father bought Spanish primer and in the evenings teaches boy eleven to read	
Phonograph records (3).....	3
Tobacco \$1.50 per pay period.....	36
Unaccounted for incidentals.....	2
<i>Total expenditure.....</i>	<i>\$741</i>

Their accounts balance.

Ten accounts are obviously too few to warrant any generalizations about the way section workers live. They are even too few to illustrate all the conditions that were found over and over again in the 550 families visited. There are, however, certain situations shown here that were found so often that it is worth calling attention to them.

Possibly as characteristic of the group as a whole as any feature of the accounts are the entries regarding clothing. The length of time coats and suits were worn even by the more prosperous, the gifts or more often hand-me-downs from relatives a little better off, the ingenuity in using scraps of material, especially flour sacks, the amount of making over and patching recorded in these ten statements are in no way exceptional; they could be found in almost any group of ten chosen at random.

Another feature that is worthy of note is the limited amount spent for recreation and the attempt to save even when the income fell below most standards of what is required for current needs. Here, probably, these families are less representative of the whole group than in their clothing accounts. But they by no means stand alone, as one of the impressions that remains from the study of the 550 families is the limited recreational life of many of the children

and the strength of the desire of most parents to provide for the future.

Again attention should be called to the efforts to eke out an income in all ways possible. The man (family 460) who worked in a garage four or five hours "almost every night" in summer is exceptional, but chiefly in his success in finding so much work. Many men supplemented their earnings on the tracks by other work but usually earned very little in this way. Other women with the particular handicaps of the mother in family 311 were not found, but women who supplemented their husbands' earnings and worked to the limit of their strength to do so were found repeatedly. So too were children not regularly at work but earning small amounts by picking berries, digging potatoes, running errands, and the like.

Finally, the ten statements given show something of the complications that often make a meager income still more inadequate. Children who have left home and become self-supporting suffer vicissitudes and return to their parents as in family 212 or 311; occasionally a son turns out to be a black sheep and requires support and extra expenditures in an effort to keep him straight, as in family 311; the family doesn't start the year square with the world but burdened by debts on which some payment must be made, as family 317 or 311. The most common complication, however, that of illness in the family, is not illustrated by these accounts. But of the 550 families there were 62 who had an illness or series of illnesses which ran the year's cost of medical service up to \$100 or more. But whatever be the exact nature of the complication, in one respect its result is the same. It makes the statement of the family's income in relation to an estimate of its ordinary requirements one which represents the family as better off than it really is.

The significance of these complicating factors deserves emphasis. Their presence means that any attempt to draw a "poverty line" or to estimate the number of people forced by their incomes to live below a given level must underestimate the poverty which actually exists. The presence of complications in the lives of the poor is all too well known to social workers, but it seems usually to be forgotten when the discussion turns on the adequacy of wages to support a family in health and decency.

HELEN RUSSELL WRIGHT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

ENGLISH HEALTH INSURANCE AND THE POOR LAW

THE HEALTH INSURANCE ACTS AND THE NUMBER OF PERSONS RELIEVED

WHEN Mr. Lloyd George and the Friendly Societies joined hands in 1911 to produce the national health insurance scheme there was already a considerable number of varied and unco-ordinated agencies that looked after the health of the poor. The poor law medical officers cared for the destitute; the education authorities supervised the school children; and the public health authorities ruled over all. Then there were free hospitals and dispensaries, mutual benefit associations, and medical clubs, and a great amount of free treatment was given through various private charitable agencies. There was little co-operation between these numerous agencies and the extent of their overlapping was practically unknown.

The effect of the establishment of the new agency, health insurance, upon the old one, relief under the poor law, is clearly not an easy question to discuss. The situation is further complicated by the post-war depression, as well as by a peculiarity that is always inherent in statistics of illness. Each advance in medical science, especially each widening of the community health program, means more cases being recognized and treated, so that what appears to be statistics of increasing sickness may indicate increasing health. If this factor affected all branches of medical service equally, it would have no effect on this study; but as this is improbable, it must be kept in mind while examining the statistics.

In order to see the present problem in its proper setting it may be helpful to review briefly the development of England's program for aiding the sick poor. The Elizabethan poor law, which provided that "necessary relief" should be given to the "impotent," made no specific provision for medical relief. After some years such relief began to be given, however, and the Poor Law Commission of 1834 tacitly agreed to continuing the system of "parish doctors" which it found

in use almost everywhere. The 1834 reform of limiting relief to those actually destitute was not carried out rigorously with regard to the sick; for destitution was defined as inability to provide what was actually necessary for life, and the growth of medical knowledge speedily widened the group of those sick who were destitute in this sense.

Such a policy conflicted sharply with that of decreasing the amount of pauperism, and as early as 1838 a Royal Commission recommended that the poor law authorities should take measures to prevent ill health and thus to relieve the rates. The early public health measures were all urged on the same basis, the Removal of Nuisances Act being passed in 1846 and the Public Health Act in 1848.

Up to 1865 indoor relief for sickness was given only in the workhouse;¹ and at that time, severe epidemics having concentrated public attention on the inadequacy of the workhouse care of the sick, the Poor Law Boards began to provide separate hospitals. The public health services were being extended, also, and some municipal hospitals were opened. In 1869 the Royal Sanitary Commission put forth a wide program for uniting all public health services under the poor law. This might have checked much of the overlapping that exists today, but the poor law officials saw in it too great an extension of outdoor relief and refused the suggestion. They, instead, between 1871 and 1885, vigorously attacked all outdoor relief and encouraged the changing of workhouses into hospitals.

After 1870 the poor law administration (the Local Government Board) was committed to two contradictory policies.² Realizing the large part that sickness played in the production of paupers it authorized continually larger and better equipped hospitals and infirmaries and urged even persons not destitute to enter them. It prided itself on the fact that the poorer classes did not feel the "stigma of pauperism" when treated in poor law hospitals. On the other hand, it made a constant attempt to cut down the number of per-

¹ It must be remembered that the English workhouse is a poorhouse and not a correctional institution.

² Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *English Local Government: English Poor Law History* (London and New York: Longmans, 1929), Part II, pp. 321-27.

sons receiving outdoor relief, and extended this policy even to the sick.

A separate Public Health Service having no connection with the poor law was established in 1872. The overlapping of these two services was not so apparent at first, when the public health authorities were chiefly concerned with sanitation, but it increased rapidly as the knowledge of preventive medicine grew. Later the education authorities were given some powers for caring for the health of the school children, and this new service, also, was not co-ordinated with the others.

Side by side with these governmental agencies for aiding the sick and for preventing sickness, there existed private agencies, which increased in number and kind. Voluntary hospitals established out-patient departments. Free dispensaries and medical missions gave treatment to all who applied. Physicians formed medical clubs to provide care at reduced rates, while the prospective patients banded together in Friendly Societies to insure themselves against the risk of sickness. Their chief and most profitable form of business was that of sickness insurance. By 1893 the fourteen main societies (which included about half the members of all societies) had over two million adult male members and were paying to them almost as many pounds a year in sickness benefits. Just how large an amount that was may be judged from the fact that the national health insurance system paid only £5,000,000 in sickness benefits to all its members in 1913.¹

Such was the situation when there began to be some talk of governmental insurance against sickness. Canon Blackley seems to have put forth the first scheme of this kind in 1878. By 1885 he had secured so much attention that a Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to consider the question of provident insurance. The Friendly Societies objected vigorously on the ground that such a system would destroy the independence of the British workingman; and Canon Blackley, recognizing that their most valuable business was that of sickness insurance, dropped that part of his scheme.

¹ With regard to the effectiveness of these various services in promoting public health, see *The Break-up of the Poor Law: Being Part I of the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission, 1905-1909*, pp. 251-55.

Little more was heard of sickness insurance for another generation. In 1908, when Mr. Lloyd George presented the old age pension bill, he promised that the working classes should soon be protected against the risks of sickness and unemployment as well, and in 1911 his National Insurance Act providing for compulsory, contributory insurance against both sickness and unemployment was passed.

The health insurance part of the scheme was complicated from the beginning by the need of placating the Friendly Societies, which by this time had close to six million members. This was accomplished by making them the chief machinery of administration. The result is a clumsy system with diverse scales of benefit—for profitable societies pay bonuses in addition to the regular benefits—and heavy administrative expenses.

Since 1911 various amending acts have been passed. In 1915 and 1917 discharged soldiers were given special benefits. In 1919 the insurance limit for non-manual workers was raised so that all persons with incomes of less than £250 a year were brought under the scheme. The scale of contributions was changed several times, the most recent one (1926) calling for 9 cents from the employer and 9 cents from the employee (8 cents if a woman), while the state pays two-ninths of the cost of benefits and of administration. A Royal Commission in 1926 reviewed the workings of the system and made various suggestions for improvement.

A statistical study of the changes produced by these laws is made difficult by the fact that the only information published with regard to health insurance is that showing the amount of money spent on the different types of benefit. There are no figures for the number of cases dealt with; and the changing scales of benefit and the variations in the amount of benefit make even an analysis of the money spent difficult.¹ Table I, showing these figures, is given therefore only to picture the extent of the scheme.

Although these figures do not lend themselves readily to comparison with those of poor relief, it is possible to make some esti-

¹ A. W. Watson, in "National Health Insurance: a Statistical Study," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 1927, p. 444, has made an interesting attempt to overcome some of the difficulties.

mate of the effect of health insurance upon the number of sick persons aided by the poor law by studying only the poor relief figures. Here we must work largely on the simplifying assumption that policy with regard to the relief of the sick did not change greatly in the period after health insurance came into being. Some indication, however, of the amount by which the policy, or the total amount of sickness, or the need for aid changed can be drawn from a series of figures dealing with uninsured classes.

The regulations of the Ministry of Health require that each Board of Guardians shall provide outdoor and institutional medical relief

TABLE I
EXPENDITURE ON HEALTH INSURANCE BENEFITS
IN ENGLAND FOR YEAR ENDING MARCH 30,
1929, AND TOTAL 1912-28*

Type of Benefit	Total 1912-28	1929†
All benefits	£29,234,000	£283,194
Sickness benefit	11,250,000	104,144
Disablement benefit	5,350,000	40,002
Maternity benefit	1,442,000	10,989
Medical benefit	8,760,000	102,520
Sanatorium benefit‡		6,081
Other benefits	2,432,000	10,458

* Compiled from *Eleventh Annual Report of the Ministry of Health, 1929-30* (Cmnd. 3667), p. 266.

† The figures for 1929 are approximate and subject to adjustment in subsequent reports.

‡ Discontinued after 1924.

for the destitute poor.¹ For outdoor relief each poor law union has its medical officer who attends and gives medicine to those poor who hold orders from their Board of Guardians. Institutional relief is largely given through workhouse infirmaries.

A statistical study of the changes in the number of persons receiving poor relief because of sickness is hampered somewhat by the change in classification that took place in 1912, and more by the fact that a complete count of the sick persons is not available. There

¹ This situation has, of course, been changed by the Local Government Reform Act of 1929 which, coming into effect April 1, 1930, put the administration of the poor law into the hands of the county and county borough councils. See this *Review*, IV (1930), 543-62, "The New Poor Law Administration in London," by J. C. Pringle.

are, however, several series¹ that taken together include a large proportion of the sick and in which the change in classification made little difference. One of the complete series is that designated "outdoor medical relief only." This covers the group of persons who receive medical attendance from the poor law medical officers and no other form of relief. Their numbers were first recorded in the 1893 half-yearly report and, from that date until 1915, were subdivided into the groups, men, women, and children. During the war years no such figures were published, and after that time the classification of age and sex was abandoned.

Another series is that of the number of sick persons who receive treatment in institutions.² These numbers are available only since 1904, the earlier reports not distinguishing clearly between the various causes for indoor relief.

The third series is perhaps not quite so reliable. From 1891 to 1912 figures were given for the number of able-bodied men and women who received indoor relief because they were sick, and of able-bodied men who received outdoor relief for that reason. After 1912, when the able-bodied classification was abandoned, there seem to be no figures with which to continue the indoor relief series. As to men receiving outdoor relief, the post-1912 figures distinguish those relieved for "their own sickness or accident" and those relieved because of "bodily infirmity." This approximates quite closely the old distinction between "able-bodied relieved because of sickness" and "non-able-bodied," and thus it has seemed possible to follow through one of the series started in 1891. This procedure seems to be further justified by the fact that the numbers for January 1, 1913 and 1914, the only pre-war years under the new classification, are practically the same as those for 1912 and the years preceding it.

¹ Throughout this paper the poor relief figures refer to the number in receipt of relief on the night of January 1, the only date, after 1915, for which detailed statistics are given. The series from which the figures given in this study were derived are to be found in the *Parliamentary Papers* under "Pauperism: Half-Yearly Statements" or, later, "Persons in Receipt of Poor Law Relief: England and Wales."

² The earlier reports distinguished the following types of institutions in which the sick were cared for: "separate infirmaries, infirm wards of workhouses, district sick asylums, hospitals and convalescent homes for the sick." A later classification was that of "separate institutions for persons suffering from disease of body" and "sick wards of other institutions."

The fourth series suffers from the same possible defect as the third. It records the number of men who received outdoor relief because of the sickness of their dependents and, before 1912, included only able-bodied men. As in the case of the previous series, however, the change of classification in 1912 made little difference in the number in this group, and so again it has seemed justifiable to assume that the series is virtually the same before and after that date. As dependents are not included in the health insurance scheme, this series is useful as a check on the others.

There are, then, data for January 1 as to the total number of sick relieved indoors, the total number receiving only medical relief outdoors, and the number of what were once called able-bodied men given outdoor relief because of their own sickness and because of the sickness of their dependents. We want first to examine the trend and fluctuations of these figures before health insurance legislation came into effect.

The figures for indoor relief are plotted on Chart I. The series of the total number of persons receiving indoor relief because of sickness runs back only to 1904 and shows, up to 1912, a straight upward trend with very small fluctuations. But from 1891 to 1912 the number of able-bodied men and women who received indoor relief because of sickness is known. Between 1904 and 1912 these figures show much the same trend as do the total figures, so it is likely that they may serve as an index of the total in the years preceding 1904. With this new series added, the upward trend becomes even more remarkable. It was due, probably, both to the poor law policy that favored indoor relief and to the increase in medical knowledge.

Then on Chart II are the curves for the three types of outdoor relief—that in which only medical relief was given, that of general outdoor relief given to men because of their own illness, and that given to them because of the illness of their dependents. As indoor relief for sickness increased, outdoor relief decreased slightly. There are no figures showing what happened in regard to the relief of sickness before 1891, but it is known that the total figures for all types of outdoor relief,¹ which had been dropping precipitately since 1849,

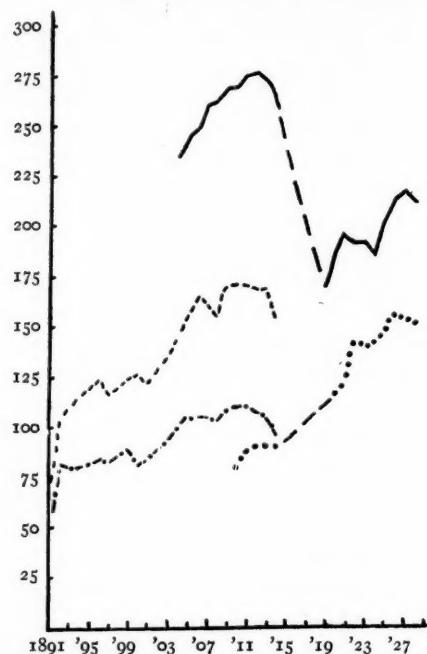
¹ On January 1, 1849, 55 persons per 1,000 population were relieved outdoors, while during the nineties the number was about 18.

reached a level about 1890 from which they varied little until 1912. It seems probable then that outdoor relief for sickness had already by 1891 been pushed to about as low a level as was possible under

CHART I

INDOOR RELIEF FOR SICKNESS*

— Total (per 100,000 Population)
 - - - Able-bodied Men (per 100,000 Adult Males)
 - - - Able-bodied Women (per 100,000 Adult Females)
 Children (per 100,000 Population under 15)



* For figures, see Table III.

that determining combination of forces—the economic situation, the amount of sickness, and the poor law policy.

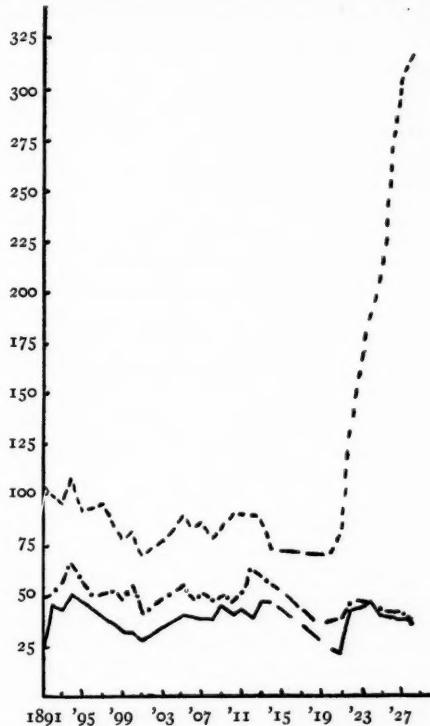
As poor law policy probably dictated the straight upward trend in indoor relief, it is unlikely that it should account for the fluctua-

tions which Chart II shows took place in outdoor relief. The remarkable degree to which the outdoor relief series fluctuate together seems to be an additional indication of some underlying common

CHART II

OUTDOOR RELIEF FOR SICKNESS*

----- Men Relieved for Their Own Sickness (per 100,000 Adult Males)
 ——— Men Relieved for Sickness of Dependents (per 100,000 Adult Males)
 - - - Persons Granted Outdoor Medical Relief Only (per 100,000 Population)



* For figures, see Tables IV and V.

cause, as is the fact that when the trend is removed from the indoor relief series they too show fluctuations which synchronize with those of out-relief. It seems reasonable that the underlying cause should

be variations in the amount of sickness plus variations in the economic capacity to pay for medical attendance. That the latter is an important factor is shown by the great drop in all types of poor relief during the war. Since this seemed logically to be the case, various attempts were made to find an index of sickness and of the business cycle which would correlate highly with these figures for poor relief. This was done in the hope that such a series would serve as an index of what variations in poor relief might be expected in the post-war years, assuming that policy remained the same. The attempt proved futile, perhaps because no reliable index for sickness was discovered.¹

The charts show that before the Health Insurance Act was passed indoor relief for sickness was rising rapidly while outdoor relief fluctuated around a level attained about 1895. Is it reasonable to expect that health insurance should have had some effect on this situation? We may at least cite some of the predictions which were made at the time such legislation was contemplated.

All through the latter half of the nineteenth century old age pension schemes were urged as a means of relieving the local rates, and it was frequently prophesied that when such pensions were established the need for public poor relief would disappear.² In so far as

¹ It may, however, be of interest to describe the attempt. In all cases the trend was removed before the correlation coefficient was calculated. Outdoor medical relief was used as the index of poor relief for sickness. As a very crude index of the varying health of the community the standardized death-rate for the preceding year was correlated with the poor relief figures for January 1. This yielded a coefficient of $-.28, \pm .21$, obviously far from significant. The influenza death-rate yielded no better result, nor did that for the various notifiable diseases (scarlet fever, diphtheria, and enteric fever), the only separate diseases reported over a long series of years. Then the amount of sickness benefit paid per member by the Friendly Societies was used as an index of sickness. This produced a coefficient of $-.53, \pm .17$, suggesting some slight relationship between the amount of benefits and the need for poor relief rather than any indication of the absolute amount of sickness. This series was rather unsatisfactory also because it recorded the total amount of money spent in the preceding year in sickness benefits while the poor relief figures showed the sick poor on only one day. With the business cycle the correlation was nearly zero although the figures for unemployment showed in their general outline much the same shape as did those for poor relief for sickness. After these futile attempts the search for correlations was given up.

² See, for instance, Charles Booth, *Poor Law Reform* (1910), p. 25; F. H. Stead, *How Old Age Pensions Began To Be*, p. 60; *Report of the Royal Commission on the Aged Poor*, in *Parliamentary Papers*, XV (1895), 672. See also this *Review*, VI (1930), 262-81, "Some Old Age Pension Questions in England."

schemes for the relief of sickness were joined to those for old age, the same predictions were made for health insurance. Most certainly the working classes were urged to join and the propertied classes to support the Friendly Societies because, among other reasons, of this supposed effect on the rates. During the agitation for health insurance it was asserted again and again that a half to a third of the cost of pauperism was due to direct dealing with sickness. The writers of the Majority Report of the 1909 Commission, for instance, made this statement and added, "It is probably little, if any, exaggeration to say that to the extent to which we can eliminate or diminish sickness among the poor, we shall eliminate or diminish one half of the existing amount of pauperism."¹

Lloyd George in introducing his bill showed the large number of lapses that poverty caused in private sickness insurance, thus recognizing that the Friendly Societies could never care for the group that needed insurance most. After the bill was passed he wrote, in an introduction to a book on the subject,

The National Insurance Act casts upon employers of labour the duty of enforcing its compulsory provisions for the insurance of those who are in their service, and of supplementing out of their own pockets the contributions payable by the insured workers themselves. For a return for this liability employers must look to a reduction in the Poor Rate, due to the transference to the National Insurance Fund of the greater part of the cost, due directly or indirectly to sickness, which now falls upon the Guardians.²

It is the task of this paper to inquire to what extent these prophecies have been fulfilled.

The Health Insurance Act came into force January 2, 1912, so there are figures for but two pre-war years on which to base an estimate of its effects, other conditions remaining the same—a most inadequate period, of course. There is little doubt, however, but that it did reduce to some extent the poor relief given for sickness. As compared with the 1912 figures, indoor relief, which had been mounting steadily for years, dropped 7 per cent in these two years, outdoor relief to men dropped 19 per cent, while outdoor medical relief dropped 14 per cent. In this last case, however, there had

¹ *Majority Report of the Poor Law Commission, 1905-1909*, Part V, p. 373.

² Carr, Garnett, and Taylor, *National Insurance* (1912), p. 1.

been a sharp increase in 1912, and 1914 still saw the figures as high as they had ever been in the past twenty years. On the other hand, there was a slight increase in the numbers given relief because of the illness of dependents. Since this series, in the pre-insurance years, fluctuated almost exactly with the other two outdoor relief series, this dissimilarity strengthens the conclusion that the decrease was due to health insurance.

Even though the decrease was general, this is far from as marked a change as had been prophesied. A closer analysis of the figures suggests a cause. The greater part of the persons relieved because of sickness were not, even before the passage of the Act, those whom the Act proposed to insure. A large proportion of the sick must have

TABLE II
NON-ABLE-BODIED SICK RELIEVED INDOORS, ON
JANUARY 1, IN ENGLAND AND WALES

Year	Number	Per 100,000 Adult Population
1910.....	53,174	215
1911.....	55,388	221
1912.....	57,674	229
1913.....	54,831	217
1914.....	55,285	215

been old people; the Act paid no benefits to persons over seventy. Many were women, a rather large proportion of whom would not be insured. And some were children under sixteen. Exact figures are not available, but it is possible to make an estimate of the influence of these facts.

Take, for example, the indoor relief series, that in which the increase after the passage of the Act was the least marked. This series shows the total number of persons given indoor relief for sickness, but the exact age and sex distribution is not stated. From various parts of the annual reports, however, we can learn how many were children under sixteen, and, up to 1914, how many were able-bodied men and women. Subtract these from the total sick, and the number of non-able-bodied adults shown in Table II is obtained.

Not all the non-able-bodied, of course, were of pension age, but it seems probable that the majority of them were not insured. This

in itself is one reason why health insurance could not be expected in the first few years to reduce greatly poor relief for sickness. For only those were insured who were working, and there must have been many chronic invalids and disabled persons who could not qualify in this way. It was to be expected, then, that health insur-

TABLE III
PERSONS GIVEN INDOOR RELIEF BECAUSE OF SICKNESS,* ON JANUARY 1, IN
ENGLAND AND WALES, PER HUNDRED THOUSAND OF
SPECIFIED POPULATION GROUP

YEAR	TOTAL	CHILDREN	ABLE-BODIED		ADULTS UNDER SEVENTY YEARS
			Men	Women	
1905.....	245	.....	155	106	.....
1906.....	250	.....	165	104	.....
1907.....	261	.....	161	107	.....
1908.....	263	.....	154	103	.....
1909.....	269	.....	170	109	.....
1910.....	270	80	172	111	.....
1911.....	276	88	170	111	.....
1912.....	277	90	168	107	.....
1913.....	271	90	169	109	.....
1914.....	259	90	148	97	.....
1919.....	170	not stated	.....	.....	.....
1920.....	186	117	.....	.....	104
1921.....	197	122	.....	.....	109
1922.....	193	143	.....	.....	110
1923.....	194	141	.....	.....	119
1924.....	186	143	.....	.....	121
1925.....	204	148	.....	.....	132
1926.....	215	157	.....	.....	166
1927.....	218	155	.....	.....	116
1928.....	214	148	.....	.....	115

* It is difficult to give an exact figure for the number of persons relieved indoors for sickness, because the annual reports do not distinguish clearly between that class and the one relieved because of bodily infirmity. It is believed, however, that the above figures are fairly accurate. Before 1922 they were calculated by adding together the figures for persons relieved in the following types of institutions: "separate infirmaries, infirm wards of workhouses, district sick asylums, and hospitals and convalescent homes for the sick." Since that date a new type of classification is used, and we have added together the figures for the number of adults "suffering from sickness, accident, or bodily infirmity" in the "separate institutions for sick persons suffering from disease of body or mind," in the "sick wards of Poor Law institutions" and in the "institutions provided wholly for the reception of persons suffering from disease of body," and to these we have added the number of children "suffering from sickness, accident, or bodily infirmity." See, for instance, pages 9 and 12 of *Persons in Receipt of Poor Law Relief, 1927*.

ance would only gradually relieve the poor law. If we grant that many of the non-able-bodied would not be insured, the number of able-bodied sick becomes a better index of the change produced by health insurance. As, however, many women were not insured, the number of able-bodied men shows the change even better. Table III gives these figures, which were plotted on Chart I.

Such an analysis of the figures shows that the class most likely to have been insured, the able-bodied men, had by 1914 decreased 12 per cent as compared with 1912, while the number of able-bodied women had decreased 10 per cent. That this decrease was probably due to the Health Insurance Act is indicated by a further fact. Up to 1909 the number of able-bodied men receiving indoor relief for sickness had been increasing, as had those for other classes. After the passage of the Act the number of able-bodied men decreased while the number of children and of the non-able-bodied continued to increase. The 12 per cent decrease thus seems clearly to have been due to health insurance. That the decrease was not greater may have been due to the Act's not being fully in operation by January 1, 1914.

There are no figures to show what happened during the war, and since that time the situation has so altered as to make comparison with pre-war conditions unsafe. On the other hand, it does still seem to be legitimate to inquire to what extent the classes receiving poor relief have altered and, by means of various controls, to make some estimate as to the effectiveness of health insurance.

Indoor relief for sickness, corrected for the change in the size of the population, had dropped 35 per cent by 1919. After that date it climbed upward again but by 1927 it was still 22 per cent lower than in 1912. The decrease in the number of adults under seventy given this type of relief must have been considerably greater, for it is known that the number of children increased from 10,081 in 1912 to 15,747 in 1927, while that of persons over seventy had probably not decreased greatly. These latter data are not available, but if we assume that the ratio between sick and well persons over seventy relieved indoors was the same in 1912 as it was from 1920 to 1927,¹ this decrease would have been from about 29,000 in 1912 to 23,754 in 1927. The situation was as follows:

¹ From 1920 to 1927 this ratio was about fifty-fifty. The 1920 Old Age Pension Act permitted old persons to receive indoor poor relief for sickness for a certain length of time without relinquishing their pensions, and this may have affected the ratio of sick to well after that date. If this should mean that less than half of the persons over seventy relieved indoors in 1912 were sick, the only effect on our calculations would be to increase the amount by which indoor relief to adults under seventy declined between 1912 and 1927.

	1927	1912
Total sick relieved indoors.....	85,343	101,119
Children.....	15,747	10,081
Persons over seventy.....	23,754	29,000 (approx.)
Adults under seventy.....	45,842	62,038
Per 100,000 population.....	117	170

The decrease of 1927 over 1912 in the number of persons of insurable age relieved indoors for sickness thus becomes 31 per cent.

While no close relationship has been discovered between relief for sickness and the business cycle, it seems undeniable that a period of severe economic stress should cause an increase in the number of persons resorting to the poor law for aid in time of sickness. The fact that such an increase did occur between 1920 and 1927 is therefore not surprising, and it seems highly probable that the 31 per cent decrease would become greater in a period of economic prosperity. Then, too, it must be remembered that a certain number of persons of insurable age are not insured: some are non-employed women; some are in the wrong occupations; some are unable to work, while some of the insured have policies that pay reduced rates due to arrears accumulated through long unemployment. Taking all these facts into consideration, the 31 per cent decrease becomes the more surprising, and it may be possible to conclude that health insurance—in so far as indoor relief is concerned, and in so far as it covers people ordinarily appealing to the poor law—has reduced relief almost as far as its proponents originally hoped it would.

Outdoor relief for sickness presents quite a different picture, as Chart II shows. There are here three series, which must cover a large proportion of such relief: the number of men granted relief for their own sickness, those relieved because of the sickness of their dependents, and the number of persons granted only medical relief. Figures for women, with the exception of this last type of relief, are not available.

Consider first outdoor medical relief. This is another series that lumps together relief given to the insured and the non-insured. In

this series the situation is further complicated by the manner in which the statistics are compiled, persons being included in the returns who are in receipt of merely "constructive relief": that is, those who, although not receiving the relief themselves, are aided by the fact that some member of their family receives such relief. As the statistics are not subdivided to show how many are personally in receipt of relief and how many are only constructively relieved, exact analysis of the effect of health insurance becomes impossible, and only estimates can be made. Before 1914 separate figures were given for men, women, and children, while since 1922, the number of persons over seventy in receipt of such relief is stated in the annual reports.

TABLE IV
PERSONS IN RECEIPT OF OUTDOOR MEDICAL RELIEF IN ENGLAND AND WALES, ON JANUARY 1, 1905-1928, PER HUNDRED THOUSAND POPULATION

Year	Number per 100,000 Population
1905.....	55
1906.....	49
1907.....	52
1908.....	48
1909.....	50
1910.....	47
1911.....	51
1912.....	64
1913.....	60
1914.....	55
1915.....	53
1919.....	37
1920.....	38
1921.....	39
1922.....	47
1923.....	47
1924.....	46
1925.....	43
1926.....	41
1927.....	42
1928.....	37

In 1912, it will be noticed, a rather great increase occurred. It is this increase which may furnish a clue to the relationship between social insurance and this type of relief. In that year the number of adults receiving outdoor medical relief increased 28 per cent over the 1911 figure. If the number of men, women, and children were given separately the table would show that the number of children decreased 8 per cent. In January, 1912, unemployment was lower than it had been since 1900, nor do the figures for other types of poor relief for sickness suggest that there was an undue amount of sickness at the time. Besides, there is the fact that the number of children receiving this type of relief decreased. In former years, on the other hand (as, for example, in 1894, 1900, and 1905), when there was an increase in the number of adults there was a corresponding increase in the number of children receiving relief. Such considerations suggest two conclusions: either the 1912 increase must have been due to some circumstance other than an economic depression or an epidemic of sickness or the additional persons receiving relief must not have had dependent children. In other words, the newcomers were probably old people, and the date, 1912, suggests some connection with the old age pension system.

The 1908 Old Age Pension Act disqualified for a pension all those receiving poor relief between 1908 and 1910. After December 31, 1910, those old people who had been receiving poor relief became eligible for pensions, and their poor relief was discontinued. An exception to the rule was made, however, in the case of relief not disqualifying for the franchise, to which group outdoor medical relief belonged. It therefore probably happened that a certain number of old people relinquished their general poor relief payments but retained the services of the poor law medical officer. Thus they appeared in the statistics as being in receipt of outdoor medical relief instead of general outdoor relief. As the law came into effect only on December 31, 1910, it is natural that the January 1, 1911, figures show no great increase, while those for the next year are larger by the 28 per cent that we have noted.

Such being the situation, the effect of the Health Insurance Act on this type of relief is obscured. It may perhaps be approximated through the change that took place in the number of children. In

nearly every year from 1893 to 1911 a change in the number of adults meant a proportional change in the number of children receiving relief. Between 1912 and 1914 the number of children decreased 26 per cent. It is thus perhaps permissible to conclude that the Health Insurance Act also reduced by a quarter the number of adults of the type which in 1911 were receiving such relief.¹ If such an analysis of the situation is correct, the Health Insurance Act had a very definite effect on this series also. Such a conclusion was probably to have been expected, for there seems to be no reason why an insured person should continue to receive treatment from a poor law medical officer, and the 25 per cent is perhaps an indication of the degree to which the poor law charges of 1911 belonged to the insured classes.

An examination of the post-war figures shows more clearly how dependent this series is on the Old Age Pension acts. Outdoor medical relief was 33 per cent lower in 1919 than it had been in 1914. Its highest point during the depression period was still 15 per cent lower than that of 1914, and by 1928 it was again down to the 1919 level. From 1922 on, there are statistics showing the number of persons over seventy receiving this kind of relief. We have previously calculated that the Old Age Pension Act must have added about eight thousand (see footnote 1) old persons to those receiving outdoor medical relief, a group which must even before the passage of the Act have contained many persons seventy or more years old. In 1922 there were only 6,715 persons over seventy in receipt of such relief. The explanation may again lie in the Old Age Pension Act. For in 1920 a new act was passed which largely removed the poor law disqualification and thus allowed old persons to receive outdoor relief concurrently with their pensions.

The relationship between pensions and poor relief seems thus to have been as follows: While the Act, between 1908 and 1910, denied pensions to all poor law charges, the numbers receiving outdoor medical relief remained stable. When the Act denied it only to those

¹ If the number of adults had decreased between 1912 and 1914 as did the number of children, there would have been about 8,500 instead of 16,846 adults receiving this type of relief in 1914. In other words, this would suggest that the Old Age Pension Act added about 8,000 old persons to the list of those receiving outdoor medical relief.

ENGLISH HEALTH INSURANCE AND THE POOR LAW 101

who would otherwise receive relief concurrently with their pensions, the number of old people in receipt of outdoor relief fell from 93,172 to 9,530. At the same time the number of adults receiving outdoor medical relief rose 38 per cent. (This is the situation already discussed: a certain number of old people, denied out-relief if they wanted their pensions, were transferred to the list of those who received only medical attendance from the poor law.) In 1920, when the poor law disqualification was removed almost wholly, the number of old persons receiving outdoor relief increased from 8,621 in 1920 to 65,483 in 1927, and the number receiving outdoor medical relief fell. The low level of outdoor medical relief during the post-war depression seems thus most probably due to the Old Age Pension Act rather than to the Health Insurance Act.

Just how great was the influence of the latter act on the number of persons receiving outdoor medical relief it is difficult to judge. We know only that the total, even in the years of greatest depression, did not rise above that of the pre-1912 years, and that the figures of those under seventy years of age fluctuated in much the same way as did those of persons over seventy. Whether this indicates that health insurance reduced the number of applicants for the services of the poor law medical officers (it seems logical that it should have done so, provided always that such services were ever given to any great extent to insurable persons) or whether it merely indicates that during the great depression people had to be given more aid than that indicated by the category, outdoor medical relief only, it is impossible to say. Both conclusions are probably true.

The last series is that of outdoor relief given to men because of their own illness. With it can be compared that series which shows the number of men relieved because of the illness of their dependents, the figures for both of which are shown in Table V.

Up to 1912 both these series covered only able-bodied men, while after that date they included all men relieved for these causes. As, however, there was no increase in the numbers when the classification was changed, it has seemed justifiable to assume that the groups were practically the same before and after 1912. By definition, the question of constructive relief does not complicate these series.

Chart II showed how closely these series fluctuated together before 1912. Between 1912 and 1914 the number of men relieved because of their own illness decreased 19 per cent,¹ while those relieved because of the illness of dependents increased 23 per cent. Thus, while the 19 per cent decrease does not seem great, considering that

TABLE V
NUMBER OF MEN IN RECEIPT OF OUTDOOR RELIEF FOR
SICKNESS PER HUNDRED THOUSAND ADULT MALE
POPULATION, JANUARY 1, 1905-28

YEAR	BECAUSE OF	
	Their Own Sickness	Sickness of Dependents
1905.....	90	41
1906.....	83	40
1907.....	86	38
1908.....	78	38
1909.....	83	46
1910.....	90	40
1911.....	89	44
1912.....	90	38
1913.....	88	49
1914.....	73	47
1919.....	72	23
1920.....	81	22
1921.....	129	44
1923.....	166	45
1924.....	187	49
1925.....	215	41
1926.....	272	40
1927.....	302	39
1928.....	317	39

this was the group which presumably contained many who were insured under the Health Insurance Act, it may be that the real decrease was decidedly greater. Or it may be (the number in the group is small) that many of them were men who, for one reason or another, were not insured or had not, by January 1, 1914, paid suffi-

¹ At first glance it might be thought that part of this decrease was due to the effect of the Old Age Pension Act, but on further consideration this seems unlikely. The series under consideration includes, up to 1912, only able-bodied men and thus probably contains few who were over seventy years of age. By 1912, when the series changed and included all men relieved for sickness, the Pension Act was fully in effect, and in that year only 3,089 men over seventy were given outdoor relief. As it is highly probable that most of these would be classed as in receipt of relief because of "bodily infirmity," they could account for very few of the 10,800 above.

cient contributions to receive health insurance benefits. Or, on the other hand, this may have been a submarginal group whose health insurance benefits were not sufficiently large to tide them over a period of illness.

Since the war the situation has altered entirely. In 1928 men relieved for their own sickness made up about 36 per cent of all the men relieved outdoors, excluding the unemployed, while in 1912 they were but 15 per cent of the total. Chart II shows how striking this change has been. Relief for the sickness of dependents, on the other hand, has continued at its pre-war level, fluctuating quite consistently with outdoor medical relief and perhaps thus suggesting actual changes in the amount of sickness.

The figures for men relieved because of their own sickness started upward in 1921, and by January 1, 1928, they had more than quadrupled—43,383 as compared with the 10,345 of 1921, a third as many as were in receipt of poor relief because of unemployment. A certain amount of this change must be attributed to the Old Age Pension Act, which, after 1920, permitted old people to retain their pensions although in receipt of outdoor poor relief. There are no figures to show how many persons over seventy were relieved because of sickness, but the total number of men given some type of out-relief is available. This number rose steadily from 3,263 in 1920 to 29,180 in 1928. During the same years the total number of men relieved on account of bodily infirmity changed from 21,600 to 69,464 which would indicate that not all the men over seventy were relieved because of sickness. If we should assume, therefore, that half of these men over seventy were aided because they were sick (the same proportion which existed in indoor relief to such men), this would account for but about 13,000¹ of the 43,000 men relieved outdoors in

¹ In 1928, 29,180 men over seventy years old received outdoor relief. Of these, 1,615 were cases of outdoor medical relief, while 26,552 were relieved because of "sickness, accident, or bodily infirmity." In the 1920 report no such sub-classifications were made, the only figure being the 3,263 who received some type of outdoor relief. For the years 1922-28, however, the number of men receiving outdoor medical relief remained steadily at about 2,000, and it seems safe to assume that their number in 1920 was probably much the same. That would leave only 1,263 given outdoor relief for some other cause—a not surprising number, since at that time receiving out-relief meant relinquishing pension.

1928 because of sickness, and the remaining number (the men of insurable age) would still be three times as high as it was in 1921.

Under such a calculation, then, about 30,000 men of insurable age were receiving outdoor relief for their own sickness in 1928 as compared with 8,000 in 1912-14. The situation is much like that of unemployment insurance. In both cases the number of men receiving out-relief for the contingency against which they were insured rose after 1920 to a height much above any which had been known before. Yet it is impossible to conclude that insurance had little effect on these types of outdoor relief, for it is highly probable that the situation would have been vastly worse had there been no insurance. It is rather the case that the insurance schemes, being planned for normal conditions, failed to provide adequately for a certain proportion of their members during the years of severe economic stress.

Although the number of insured men receiving outdoor relief because of unemployment was very large (106,000 in June, 1927), there were but 2.4 per cent of the men in receipt of unemployment insurance benefit who received outdoor relief concurrently with it.¹ The situation in regard to health insurance seems to be quite different. There are no figures published showing how many persons are in receipt of health insurance benefits at any time,² but there are a few local estimates as to the extent of overlapping between the insurance system and the poor law. If these latter can be considered typical it would seem that health insurance is much less effective than unemployment insurance in keeping its members from the poor law.

The figures referred to are those submitted by the Minister of Health to the Royal Commission on Health Insurance in 1925.³ They show, for the cities of Liverpool and Birmingham, how many persons on February 21, 1925, were receiving both sickness or dis-

¹ *Investigation into the Personal Circumstances and Industrial History of 9,748 Claimants to Unemployment Benefit, April 4-9, 1927*, Ministry of Labour, 1928, p. 30.

² The only figures available are those showing how much money was spent in each year on the various types of health insurance benefits. It is impossible to reduce these to the number of persons receiving benefit because the rate of benefit varies in different societies.

³ *Report of the Royal Commission on Health Insurance, 1925*, p. 138. Cmd. 2596.

ablement benefits under the Health Insurance Act and poor relief. In Liverpool 8,293 and in Birmingham 3,875 men over sixteen years of age were receiving some sort of out-relief, of whom 6,586 and 2,902 were insured under the Health Insurance Act. How many of these received such relief because of their own sickness is not stated, but in January, 1925, the proportion for the whole country was one-third. If it may be assumed that this proportion held in these cities as well, this would mean that in Liverpool 2,764 and in Birmingham 1,292 men were receiving poor relief because they were ill. Of these, 694 in Liverpool and 820 in Birmingham were in receipt of health insurance benefits as well: one-fourth in Liverpool and two-thirds in Birmingham. The difference is perhaps due to the policy of the two Boards of Guardians, although the Commission on Health Insurance said, in commenting on these figures, "We have no reason to believe that the experience of these Boards is not typical or that the Boards themselves are unduly generous in their administration of relief."¹ If we take only the lower figure (one-fourth of those granted relief for their own illness) as typical of the country as a whole, it would indicate that in 1928 there were at least 10,000 men who had their health insurance benefits supplemented by poor relief.

There are no figures to show what proportion this was of the total number of persons receiving health insurance benefits, but in a special inquiry made in Reading and in Halifax it was found that 9.3 per cent and 3.4 per cent of such persons were also receiving poor relief.² If these figures can be considered at all typical, they would indicate that health insurance is much less effective in preventing recourse to the poor law than are the other types of social insurance.

The reason obviously lies in the scale of benefits, which probably also accounts for the great increase in the need for poor relief during the depression period. Old age pensions give ten shillings a week to their recipients, the majority of whom are not heads of households; unemployment insurance gives a minimum of eighteen shillings, with additional allowances for dependent wives and children. Sickness benefits under the Health Insurance acts provide but fifteen shillings a week, and this is reduced to nine shillings if 10*s* weekly contributions have not been paid. No more than 26 weekly benefits

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

² *Ibid.*, Appendix CIV, p. 682.

are payable in one year. If an illness exceeds that time, disablement benefits of seven shillings, six pence a week are paid instead. No additional allowances are made for wives or children. Obviously such benefits were not intended to provide full maintenance. That recourse to the poor law was expected in some cases is clear from the fact that the Act instructs Guardians to disregard seven shillings, six pence per week of any health insurance benefit when considering an application for poor relief. It is probably, therefore, only to have been expected that an enormous increase should have taken place during the long depression period.

It is clear also why outdoor relief for the sickness of insured men has increased while indoor relief is so much lower than it was in 1912. The outdoor relief is probably being given to many men who are not very ill but who, being ill, were transferred from unemployment insurance benefit to that of health insurance with a consequent decrease in their weekly allowances. The difference in many cases must be met by the poor law. There is not the same possibility of making up for the low sickness benefits by seeking indoor relief from the poor law as there is by asking for out-relief, and indoor relief figures have not mounted during the years of economic depression as have those for outdoor relief. How much worse the situation would have been if there had been no Health Insurance Act it is impossible to say, but it is at least clear that health insurance with its low scale of benefits has not prevented a great increase in outdoor relief for sickness.

On the whole, then, it seems that health insurance has not produced so great a decrease in the number who have to be given poor relief because of sickness as was originally hoped for. Although it is impossible to secure an exact statement of the total number of persons relieved on account of sickness, Table VI includes most of the classes and gives a summary conception of its effect.

The table shows two rather contradictory facts: that before the war health insurance had apparently not reduced the number in any group greatly; and that in the great depression after the war the numbers, with one exception, did not rise as high as might have been expected. In the first case, it may have been that the health insur-

ENGLISH HEALTH INSURANCE AND THE POOR LAW 107

ance system was not yet fully in operation. By 1914 outdoor relief to able-bodied men had decreased only 19 per cent, indoor relief to the same group 13 per cent, while outdoor medical relief, when allowance is made for the effect of old age pensions, had decreased 25 per cent as compared with 1912.

After the war outdoor medical relief, as we have seen, was probably more influenced by the old age pension system than by that of health insurance, its recipients being to a large extent old people. General outdoor relief given to men for their own sickness increased enormously during the depression period, probably on account of the low scale of benefits paid by health insurance. This scale is especial-

TABLE VI
PERSONS GRANTED POOR RELIEF BECAUSE OF SICKNESS

	1912	1914	1920	1927
Outdoor relief				
Men on account of their own illness	10,800	8,977	8,760	41,291
Men for illness of dependents.....	4,433	5,816	2,841	3,730
Women for their own illness.....		not stated		
Women for illness of dependents.....		1,087	1,086	1,205
Medical relief only.....	23,409	20,731	14,236	16,707
Indoor relief.....	101,119	95,838	69,939	85,343

ly inadequate for unemployed persons, who when they become ill lose their unemployment benefits with their additional allowances for dependents. The few estimates that have been made suggest that in 1925 from 4 to 9 per cent of the persons receiving health insurance benefits had to have them supplemented by poor relief. Indoor relief for sickness, on the other hand, was considerably aided by the health insurance system, our calculations showing that the number of sick persons of insurable age was about 30 per cent lower in 1927 than in 1912.

In general, then, health insurance has probably failed to relieve the poor law greatly, first, because the majority of poor law charges are not insured, and, secondly, because for many families, especially in time of great unemployment, its scale of benefits is too low for maintenance.

HELEN LELAND WITMER

SMITH COLLEGE

SOURCE MATERIALS

ORGANIZED LABOR ON FEDERAL RELIEF

EDITORIAL NOTE

IN PLACE of the older documents that have usually appeared in this section, the following material is printed as being closely related to the problems of today. The first document is the formal appeal for aid presented by the American Federation of Labor to the President and Congress. On behalf of five million members of the affiliated unions, an impressive delegation of more than one hundred labor leaders marched for more than a mile from their headquarters conference room to the White House with William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, at their head. From the White House the delegation went out to the Capitol, where they presented the appeal to the Vice-President and the Speaker of the House (see the *New York Times*, February 10, 1932). The second document is made up of extracts from the *Unemployment Relief Hearings* (U.S. Senate, Seventy-second Congress, first session, December, 1931—January, 1932), pp. 146-49, 224-27, 334-46 (see this *Review*, p. 174).

American Federation of Labor Statement to the President and Congress

A real national emergency has been reached. It calls for profound consideration and the application of practical remedies. The destructive consequences of widespread, continuous, distressing unemployment have reached an acute stage. Relief of a most definite and adequate nature must be supplied in order to relieve hunger, distress and human suffering. The economic causes responsible for the creation of this situation have been operating for several years. As a result industry is to a great extent paralyzed. The financial structure of the nation is greatly impaired, credit facilities have become inadequate, confidence has been destroyed and a state of mind bordering on hysteria prevails throughout the land.

The great working population of the nation and those dependent upon them have suffered most of all. Financial losses and impairment in credit

values are not as disastrous in effect as the losses which millions of working men and women have sustained as a result of unemployment. Life and living, in the fullest sense of these terms, depend absolutely upon the exercise of the right to work and upon the enjoyment of the opportunity to earn an income required to maintain a decent American standard of living.

JOBLESS SET ABOVE EIGHT MILLION

Because the representatives of organized labor are thoroughly conscious of the acute suffering and distress which prevail in all communities, we have assembled in Washington, the capital city of the nation. The gravity of the situation made such a deep impression upon the executive council and the representatives of the American Federation of Labor that they deemed it imperative to meet, consider the emergency which has arisen and give expression to the demands of the unemployed, numbering more than eight million, that work opportunities be created and that relief, urgently needed, be immediately supplied.

We meet, therefore, as representatives of labor, clothed with authority to speak for many millions of organized workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and to speak for other voiceless workers who, because of their disorganized state, have no medium of expression. The workers who have suffered much and who have endured hardships and distress for several years have exhausted their savings, have reached the limit of their resources and are facing the future with impaired morale and physical deterioration.

Many members of organized labor who are working have been and are contributing a large percentage of their earnings to assist their fellow-workers who are unemployed. Others are sharing the very limited amount of work available.

MILLIONS CONTRIBUTED BY LABOR

In these ways many millions of dollars have been contributed by the members of organized labor toward helping their associate fellow-workers who have been unemployed during the last two years. They will continue to render all assistance possible and to do all that lies within their power to relieve human distress and intense suffering. But the need is too great.

The number of unemployed is constantly increasing. More than eight million three hundred thousand were suffering from enforced idleness during the month of January. Local relief agencies have found the task too great. Adequate relief cannot be and is not being supplied. Men, women and children are hungry, cold and undernourished. They are appealing for food, warmth and shelter.

The tragic feature of this uncivilized, inhuman condition is reflected in the fact that millions of children are suffering from hunger and cold every day and that many thousands are unable to attend school because of a lack of food, clothing and shoes.

The entire resources of the nation must be brought into action and must be utilized to meet and deal adequately with this emergency. The local communities, the States and the nation must all do their part, responding in full measure to the demands of the occasion.

LOCAL RELIEF CALLED INADEQUATE

It does not seem reasonable for the Federal Government to deny relief to men, women, and children suffering from unemployment when it is clearly evident that local and State relief agencies are unable to meet the requirements of the situation. Those who are hungry and are appealing for food cannot draw the fine line of distinction between relief supplied by State and local agencies and relief supplied by the Federal Government. They know that every community is a part of our national life and as such all are a part of the nation's family. The indistinct lines which separate communities and States are not discernible in the midst of nation-wide misery and woe.

This fact was recognized during the great war emergency and it should be recognized during the existing emergency. It is upon this basis that we appeal to the Congress of the United States for an immediate appropriation of an adequate sum sufficient to meet the demands of the existing economic situation. We make this appeal in the name and in behalf of the hungry, suffering men, women and children whose plight is directly traceable to unemployment. We urge the enactment of the Costigan-La Follette bill appropriating \$375,000,000 for relief purposes immediately and for such other appropriations as circumstances and occasions may require.

HELP GIVEN TO BUSINESS CITED

The masses of the people will feel that Congress has utterly failed to measure up to its duties and responsibilities if, while in session as it now is, during a period of great national emergency, it fails to appropriate funds to supply food, clothing and shelter to millions of suffering, starving people.

The billions of dollars which Congress has provided for the purpose of aiding banks, corporations and business institutions will stand out in sharp deprecating contrast if Congress fails to promptly help the needy and the hungry. The huge sums thus appropriated to aid capital cannot

and will not feed and clothe hungry people. Surely Congress cannot afford to subject itself to the charge that it speedily appropriated billions for capital and nothing for the hungry. Human values and human needs should be given first rather than secondary consideration.

No explanation can be made to hungry people and their sympathetic friends which would satisfy them as to why Congress voted billions to aid banks and corporations and would refuse to appropriate even a moderate sum to be used for the purpose of assisting the States and communities in supplying food, clothing and shelter to patriotic, loyal citizens who are suffering from unemployment. We do not consider the appropriation of Federal relief to supply food, clothing and shelter in this great emergency to millions of starving men, women and children as a dole.

DISTRESS IN LARGE CITIES

The local relief agencies in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cleveland, and Detroit have found the task too great. For instance, in New York 250,000 families are in immediate need of relief, while 100,000 are receiving assistance. In Philadelphia the number dependent on relief has risen from 3,000 in December, 1930, to 43,000 in December, 1931. Philadelphia estimates its need at \$6,000,000 beyond that raised, and there is no more money in sight. Funds raised from private sources will be exhausted by May 1.

In Chicago, relief funds will be exhausted by the 15th of February. Eviction cases in that city average 250 per day. In Cleveland the local relief funds are practically exhausted, while the need for help has substantially increased.

While the larger cities are overwhelmed with the problem of meeting minimum relief requirements and have funds raised for that specific purpose there are millions living in isolated towns and villages remotely situated from the larger cities who have no organized relief agencies to assist them. Only about 40,000,000 persons, or 32 per cent of our population, live within reach of relief organizations such as community chests. Sixty-eight per cent live in small towns or country districts where no organized relief agencies exist, with the exception of the county Poor Boards.

NEEDY OUTSIDE RELIEF ZONES

There are some 60,000,000 persons residing outside the zones where relief agencies exist. The vast majority of them are working people. Many of those living in these isolated sections reside in mining districts, oil field communities, textile mill villages and other small villages where

the banks have failed, where small industries have collapsed and where the need for help is intense.

A significant development of the very serious situation which exists is clearly evident in the larger cities where large crowds of unemployed accumulate, where protest meetings are held, in the hunger marches which have been and are taking place, in the violence which occurs, in crime and in the accumulating wave of discontent and social unrest which is sweeping over the country.

Therefore, we, the representatives of labor, fully informed of these deplorable conditions, receiving reports from our personal representatives who are in these sections and having first-hand information with reference to the economic and social needs of working people, appeal for help and assistance for them as well as for those who live in the larger cities.

DRASTIC MEANS HELD IMPERATIVE

The plight of these millions of people is shocking. It is steadily and rapidly growing worse, and unless some drastic means are taken to alleviate the situation the nation will suffer heavily in the destruction of physical, moral, and mental values. It is our solemn judgment that the time has arrived when the Congress of the United States should arise to the occasion, respond to the appeals of the hungry, assist in feeding men, women and children during this great emergency, just as our nation did when the cry for help came from starving people across the sea.

The heart yearnings and unquenchable desires of the workers are reflected in the appeal of the masses of the people for the exercise of the right to work. They prefer work and the enjoyment of opportunities to earn a living to relief supplied from any source or sources whatsoever. Employment and the development of opportunities to secure work are of more importance to them than the appropriation of relief.

Working people are thinking in more advanced terms. They no longer concede to industry the right to provide work at will or to force millions of people into unemployment. They hold that the right to work is a fundamentally sacred right and propose to fight earnestly for the universal acceptance of this humane principle.

WORK SECURITY DEMANDED

Instead of forcing working people into idleness during periods of economic recession labor demands that such adjustment in the number of days worked per week and in the number of hours worked per day must take place so that all may share equitably in the amount of work available. Work security must be substituted for anxiety and unemploy-

ment. The management of industry, which has failed so miserably during this long continued period of unemployment, must rise to new heights and assume new positions.

They must realize that industry has an obligation to working people equal if not greater than it owes to itself.

A balanced system based upon intelligent planning, operating in such a way as to provide employment security, must be substituted for the unscientific and uneconomic methods now being pursued by industrial management. But, this plan and this policy must be considered in relation to permanent relief policies. The needs of the moment and the urgency of the existing situation press for immediate solution and action.

We reiterate the demands of labor for the application of constructive work remedies and policies in order to extend and broaden work opportunities for millions who are idle. We propose:

1. The immediate establishment of the five-day work week in both private and public industry.

2. A cessation of the wage-cutting policy which was relentlessly pursued during the year 1931 and which has resulted in the destruction of mass buying power and the creation of fear and distrust in the minds of millions of working men and women. The soundness of this position is quickly recognized when we consider the fact that the wage losses of wage earners, with a corresponding reduction in buying power, amounted to \$11,000,000,000 for the year 1931 as compared with the year 1929.

3. To create work opportunities by every business executive employing at least one more employe and by industrial enterprises adding to their working force in proportion to the number now employed. Every professional person and head of household extending employment or part-time employment to as many people as possible. Every community to undertake to develop and carry on additional work.

4. All efforts possible be made to keep boys and girls in school and that local post-graduate opportunities be provided for those finishing school.

LABOR'S COOPERATION PLEDGED

The organized labor movement, through the American Federation of Labor, will cooperate in full measure with other organizations in carrying forward a nation-wide campaign for the realization of these objectives. We have joined with other groups in the realization of this praiseworthy purpose. We shall continue to give all the support possible to nationwide organized movements formed for the purpose of creating work opportunities and stimulating industrial activity.

We specifically recommend that the Federal Government take immediate steps to establish the five-day work week for government employes. Such action on the part of the national government would very greatly influence the management and owners of private industry. We are certain that the time has arrived when this action should be taken for we are confident that the establishment of the five-day work week will become universal within the very near future.

Furthermore, we protest against any reduction in the salaries and wages of government employes. As representatives of labor we feel fully justified in assuming this strong position both from an economic and moral point of view.

ASKS DEFENSE OF LIVING STANDARD

The government, a large employer of labor, should set an example by maintaining wage standards commensurate with the requirements of American citizenship. The government, representing all the people, cannot afford to join with those who are determined to lower the American standard of living through forced reductions in income with a corresponding loss in morale and personal efficiency. The government would lose more than it would gain through such action.

The maintenance of wage standards on the part of the Federal Government will serve in a most valuable way to protect and preserve corresponding standards established by millions of working men and women employed in private industry.

The importance of the legislative demands of organized labor runs parallel with that of the unemployment situation. In behalf of unnumbered millions of American working men and women, we solemnly petition Congress to grant the needed legislative relief which is so earnestly sought.

For years the minds of American working people have been filled with a keen sense of injustice because corporations have resorted to the wrongful use of injunctions in labor controversies.

American working people, as the people of no other nation, have suffered mentally and materially through what they firmly believe was the unjust application of the injunctive process.

LABOR INJUNCTION DECLARED UNJUST

The right to organize and to function is devoid of meaning if, through the use of the writ of injunction, men and women are prohibited from organizing for mutual helpfulness and from exercising their economic

strength and from appealing to other workers to join with them in a common cause. Men and women smart under a keen sense of injustice when they become the victims of sweeping prohibitive injunction orders and contempt proceedings.

Public opinion slowly responded to the constant appeals of organized labor for the enactment of injunction relief legislation. It began to understand that labor was fully justified in the protests it made against the abuse of the writ of injunction in labor controversies. As a result the two great political parties included in their platforms a pledge both specific and implied to support injunction relief legislation which, in effect, would free labor from the unjust restraints which had been placed upon it.

Now, without further delay, labor feels justified in calling upon the members of Congress to redeem their party pledges, to show good faith through the enactment of injunction relief legislation at this session of Congress.

PLEA FOR NORRIS BILL'S PASSAGE

The American Federation of Labor is supporting an injunction relief measure by Senator Norris and designated Senate bill No. S 935. The same measure has been introduced in the House of Representatives. In appealing for the enactment of this character of legislation, labor is not asking for a privileged status. We are not seeking to exempt labor from the provisions of any law. We are asking that labor be given an equal status with other citizens and that the restraining power of the government shall apply to labor only as it applies to other groups of American citizenship.

We have waited long and patiently for Congress to act favorably upon the injunction relief legislation which we have sponsored. We are certain that in its present form, as reported to the Senate by the majority members of the Senate Judiciary Committee, it provides the minimum of relief which should be accorded us and that any impairment in its provisions will be considered by labor as a failure on the part of Congress to redeem in full measure the political pledge made by both political parties.

Labor regards the injunction relief measure as of transcendent legislative importance. It is a legislative measure in which we are inexpressibly interested. We firmly believe and expect that this measure will be favorably acted upon during the present session of Congress. It is our purpose and our fixed determination to exercise the right of appeal guaranteed to all American citizens by calling upon the members of Congress to give individual and collective support to labor's injunction relief measure.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM OUTLINED

Therefore, in this conference, composed of the representatives of national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and representing directly more than 3,000,000 and indirectly additional millions of American working people we voice our earnest plea to the members of Congress to redeem party pledges, to give labor the relief which it honorably seeks, to complete a noble task through the enactment of injunction relief bill No. S 935 and H.R. 8088 as speedily as possible and at an early date.

We wish to stress our interest in legislation providing for a five-day work week for government employes; the legislative proposal providing for federal aid to states adopting old age pension legislation; the King bill (S 7) to deport certain alien seamen; for the payment of the prevailing rates of wages by all contractors engaged in government work; for the development of a public works program which will serve to prevent a recurrence of unemployment widespread and distressing as it now exists; the Davis-Kelly bill which provides for the regulation and control of the demoralized coal industry; for the protection of the oil industry; for the modification of the Volstead act so as to provide for the manufacture of 2.75 alcoholic content beer; for the enactment of taxation legislation providing for an increase in the higher income tax brackets; more exacting inheritance tax provisions, and for the enactment of legislation supported and sponsored by organizations representing government employes.

APPEAL TO PRESIDENT

For the purpose of presenting this appeal of organized labor for economic and legislative relief to the Chief Executive of the United States and to the members of Congress, we, the representatives of millions of working men and women as here referred to, recommend that the executive council and national and international representatives of organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor in attendance at this conference call upon the President of the United States; the presiding officer of the Senate; and the Speaker of the House of Representatives and present to each of them the recommendations and sincere request of this conference as herein expressed.

In submitting this appeal to the Chief Executive of the nation and to the members of the Senate, through its presiding officer, and to members of the House of Representatives, through its Speaker, we hope and trust that the seriousness of the unemployment situation, the justice of our appeal for the enactment of remedial legislation and the constructive

suggestions which we have offered will command their official and personal support.

Unemployment Relief Hearings

Extract from the testimony of Edward F. McGrady, legislative representative of the American Federation of Labor.—Mr. Chairman, in view of the fact that many of our States, cities, and isolated districts frankly admit that they are unable to meet the demands that are being made upon them for relief for the needy, the question resolves itself down to this: Is our Federal Government going to allow untold numbers of our American citizenship to suffer, if indeed they do not die, from cold and hunger in the coming months which will undoubtedly be the worst period of hardship that this Nation has ever witnessed? Or will the Federal Government protect the health and lives of our men, women, and children by liberally assisting the States, cities, and isolated districts that are unable to help themselves? It is the belief of the American Federation of Labor that the national lawmakers should not shirk this responsibility. Indeed it is a great opportunity for the Federal Government to renew the faith of the people in their Government, a faith that has been badly shattered in the last three years.

The American Federation of Labor has always felt that the problem of caring for the unemployed and the destitute is first a local problem to be solved by the community, but when it is impossible for the community to do so, the county or State should lend their assistance.

If the States and communities admit that it is absolutely impossible for them to aid in this relief, then the only agency that can be looked to is the Federal Government, and we are in favor of liberal appropriations in order that human lives might be saved and hunger, misery, and want alleviated.

The greatest fear of our people in this, the richest country in the world, is unemployment and the specter of starvation drawing nearer and nearer all the time. The American Federation of Labor is in a position to know, perhaps better than any other group, just what the conditions are. We have in this country 28,229 local unions in the 48 States and from these 28,000 points in the Nation we receive monthly reports on the state of unemployment.

The American Federation of Labor has prided itself on its efforts to care for its own, and in the past two years we have contributed approximately \$52,000,000 to our unemployed and needy membership. Without taking the time of this committee to give a complete list of all the unions, I will pick few at random:

International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, \$2,300,000 in 12 months.

United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, \$5,000,000 in 2 years.

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, \$2,841,948 in 12 months (of this amount they gave in unemployment benefits in the cities of New York, Boston, Chicago, and Philadelphia alone \$947,316).

Bricklayers, Masons, and Plasterers' International Union of America, \$700,-000 in 12 months.

International Union of Operating Engineers, \$150,000 in 12 months.

United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters, \$1,150,000 in 18 months.

United Mine Workers of America, \$4,000,000 in three years, through contributions and assessments of local unions.

International Typographical Union, \$4,500,000 in 18 months (and in the cities of New York and Chicago they alone contributed \$1,350,000 in 12 months).

International Association of Machinists, \$8,310,620 in 24 months.

We are going to continue to try to assist our members as much as possible in the future, but with unemployment increasing we very much fear that we will have to call upon the public authorities to assist us in carrying this load.

We estimate that by the first of 1932 there will be at least 7,500,000 unemployed. There were not less than 7,000,000 out the 1st of December, and 6,000,000 more were only getting from one to three days' work during the week. This is a conservative estimate and represents the minimum unemployment. This compares with an average of 2,400,000 out of work in 1929, or an increase in that time of over 5,000,000. Of this number there is a large percentage who have been out of work for a very long period of time and whose resources are entirely exhausted. I want particularly to call your attention to the conditions of the miners in Indiana, Illinois, Tennessee, Ohio, Kentucky, and Pennsylvania. More than 200,000 of them have had no work for a year or more. In five anthracite counties in Pennsylvania the United Mine Workers informed the officials that \$5,000,000 would be needed to feed and clothe the people. In all the mining sections of Pennsylvania they need at once not less than \$15,000,000 to carry them through this winter.

The Standard Statistics Co. estimates that in 1930 wage earners' incomes were below 1929 by \$8,800,000,000. In 1931 wage earners' incomes were below 1929 by \$11,000,000,000, according to the American Federation of Labor estimate, and these figures are conservative. The total loss of wage and salaried workers for this full year compared to 1929

has been estimated at between eighteen and twenty billion dollars. These figures were given by Dr. Leiserson. This loss of purchasing power on the part of our workers is a major factor in business depression. No other single item in the record of business losses has had anything like the economic effect of this \$11,000,000,000 decline in wage payments. Bank failures have caused panic, but actual deposits in all banks which failed in the year ending September 30, 1931, were \$1,500,000,000, which was less than one-seventh the amount lost by wage earners. Business failures reported to *Dun's Review* in the same period amounted to \$750,000,000.

If the United States were to lose its entire foreign trade, which was \$5,150,000,000 in 1929, the loss would be less than half as great as the wage decline. These wage losses have had a blighting effect on factories, mines, railroads, farms, and have reduced business activity throughout our entire business mechanism. By October, 1931, two years after the stock market collapse, depression forces had reduced business activity to 44 per cent below normal. Certain adjustments have been made, but several fundamental changes have yet to be accomplished. We have made little progress in adjusting the distribution of income.

While the workers have lost nearly one-third of their entire 1929 income this year, and total wage payments are back to the 1922 levels, we still had 149 millionaires in 1930, who received \$350,000,000 in income, and although many firms have reduced dividends in 1931, the total dividend payments were not far from the 1929 level. This year, through October, only 1,927 firms have reduced or omitted dividends, while in manufacturing industries alone 2,600 firms have reduced wages. Over 3,300 corporations paid dividends in the first 11 months of 1931, and 675 paid extra or increased dividends. Recovery from this depression will be a very long, slow process. We must look ahead to at least a year of unemployment, at present levels. With widespread improvements in plant efficiency introduced in the last two years, we are continually increasing technological unemployment. Many industries have cut wages down below the minimum required for health and decency, but at the same time they maintain their usual dividends. I could cite you scores and scores of instances. Let me give you one:

The Bibb Manufacturing Co., a \$25,000,000 textile corporation, operates a chain of nine cotton mills in central and western Georgia, with Macon as their headquarters. This company is the largest manufacturer of cotton goods of its kind in the world; with a normal production of 700,000 pounds per week. During the past 17 years it has returned to its stockholders 148 per cent in cash dividends and 370 per cent in stock

dividends. The Bibb Manufacturing Co. has maintained its quarterly dividends throughout the present depression. In 1930, in addition to declaring the regular 6 per cent dividend, the company drew \$5,000,000 from its surplus and retired all of its 6 per cent preferred stock which had been distributed as a stock dividend in 1925. Throughout the year 1931 the Bibb Co. has maintained 6 per cent cash dividends.

In the past year this company has slashed the wages of its workers from one to three times, cutting their original wage payments in half or more.

On Sunday, October 4, William D. Anderson, president of the Bibb Manufacturing Co., addressed a Sabbath Day rally for a large number of his force of mill workers. Approximately 1,200 mill workers were present. During the course of his remarks Mr. Anderson presented a food budget which he believed included all necessary items upon which an average textile worker's family of four can subsist. It included 24 pounds of flour, 4 pounds of lard, 8 pounds of potatoes, and 1 peck of meal.

These articles of food in the quantities indicated, Mr. Anderson pointed out, could be obtained by careful buying for the sum of \$1.35. If the family was not quite satisfied with this fare, they might include such luxuries as coffee and meat, which would bring the total weekly food budget up to \$1.68. If the workers should give three meals per day to each one of the four members of the family, that would provide in seven days 84 meals, and if you divide 84 meals by \$1.68, that would allow 2 cents for each meal.

I ask you, gentlemen, do you think that the workers of the Bibb Manufacturing Co., totaling 55 hours per week, which includes an intensified stretch-out system, can live in decency and maintain their health on 2 cents per meal? If the toiler working every day is allowed 2 cents per meal, what do they expect the unemployed to live upon?

A great many of these industrialists if left to themselves will not seriously attempt to solve the problem honestly and adequately. If these prosperous employers of labor are not going to pay their workers decent wages, then we insist that a large share of their profits should be taken away from them by taxation and given to the improverished workers through proper relief-agencies.

The average wages paid to-day are hardly more than half enough to support a family in health and decency, consequently the workers who have held their jobs can not give much more help to the unemployed.

A survey by the United States Children's Bureau shows that relief payments in the first half of 1931 in 88 cities were greater than relief

paid by 100 cities for the full year in 1930, and nearly four times the amount spent for family relief in 1929. The United States Public Health Service informed us a few months ago that more than 6,000,000 of our little school children are suffering from malnutrition, making them easy victims of many serious diseases, and authentic testimony shows that the hospitals are reporting an alarming rise in the types of physical trouble due to undernourishment. We can not now estimate the tragic consequences in the future which will result from such developments.

Unemployment and its consequent poverty is reaching into the lives of men and women in all walks of life. The story of these American workers is a story of despair that causes every one of us to wonder about the future safety of our institutions unless a solution is found for the problem.

Not only in our industrial centers but particularly in our isolated communities, where there are not community chests, the cry of despairing fathers and mothers and undernourished and sick children is rising in greater volume, and the American Federation of Labor prays that the Congress of the United States will see to it that the Federal Government will lend its aid in the very trying months to come. . . .

Extract from the testimony of John L. Lewis, president of United Mine Workers of America.—Witnesses trained in relief work have told your committee of the inadequacy of private charity to meet the demands of the present emergency. I come to speak for a class whose want and destitution is wholly beyond the organized local charities of the Gifford committee. These are the men, women, and children of the coal-mining fields whose occupation has removed their lives from those municipal centers where the present organized machinery of charity operates. To a large extent these miners and their families are colonized in mining communities removed from the industrial centers where community chests have been provided, remote from the eyes of those fortunate citizens whose hearts are touched in the presence of destitution, and beyond any hope of relief from local appropriations. In the bituminous fields this is especially true. The disorder of the bituminous-coal industry, with its cut-throat competition, out of which labor, rather than coal, is sold, with its part-time employment and diminishing wage, is known to many of you Senators from congressional and personal investigation. In good times, as in bad, this unhealthy condition has borne heavily upon the lives of these mining communities. But the financial depression of the last two years has reduced the working time of the mines, lowered the already pauperized wage of the worker, added to the enforced idleness of this group, and

increased their wretchedness. By this irony of things the open winter, with its reduced demand for coal, relieves the charitable exigencies of the large communities, but increases the destitution in these mining villages.

The extent to which the prolonged depression has further decreased coal consumption is best illustrated by a comparison of production in recent years.

Production for the calendar year 1931 to December 12 totaled 360,-943,000 tons. With three more weeks to run, total production for the entire calendar year will not exceed 380,000,000 tons. This will be 87,000,-000 tons less than the total production for 1930, which was 467,000,000 tons, and the lowest production recorded since 1909.

Comparative production for other recent years is: 1929, 534,000,000 tons; 1928, 500,000,000 tons; 1927, 517,000,000 tons. Weekly consumption of bituminous coal for August of this year receded to 6,000,000 tons, the lowest weekly consumption since the United States Geological Survey began keeping such records.

In the past few years the number of men employed in the bituminous-coal industry decreased 30 per cent, while the per-man-day production increased 20 per cent. The decrease in round numbers approximates a reduction of 240,000 miners.

The working time in the bituminous-coal industry is inadequate to provide an American standard of living even at the highest prevailing wages paid. For example, in 1930 Illinois miners worked only an average of 156 days; Indiana, 157 days; Iowa, 155 days; Kentucky, 187 days; West Virginia, 204 days; Pennsylvania, 198 days; and the average for all coal-mining States was only 187 days. However, the average number of days worked, as given in the above figures, overstate the actual working time of bituminous-coal miners, because the industry has endeavored to absorb by a division of work the more than 240,000 surplus men who have been thrown jobless upon the mining communities by reason of the concentration of production at fewer mines and the increased per-man-day production, caused largely through the introduction of machinery, together with the decreased demand for coal.

The average weekly running time of the most advantageously located bituminous coal mines for several years past has only approximated three days per week. Miners holding jobs in these mines have been dividing their working time with their more unfortunate fellow miners, and the result has been that from 8 to 12 days per month have constituted the average pay roll. Wage rates run all the way from \$1.50 a day in the isolated nonunion fields to \$6 a day in the union fields.

Mechanization of mines has merely intensified competition, lowered wage rates, and returned no profit whatsoever to coal companies. The United States Internal Revenue department reports that the bituminous coal industry as a whole lost \$27,000,000 in 1928 and, during 1929, the peak year of prosperity, \$14,000,000.

The billions invested in bituminous coal mines have gone penniless for years, while the miners have been pushed down to the lower levels of pauperization. Many mining communities, located in Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia, Illinois, Kentucky, Indiana, and other States, are from the standpoint of self-help literally flat on their backs, scarcely able to raise the bare necessities for the sustenance of life.

Approximately 175,000 of the 240,000 distressed bituminous coal miners are located within six States and are isolated in regions where coal mining is practically the only industrial enterprise; merchants are bankrupt; banks are closed; schools are without operating funds, and even residents once considered wealthy, by reason of the depreciation of coal securities, are in almost as dire want as are the coal miners. These coal-mining municipalities and townships can not collect taxes and have exhausted their credit, and therefore can not provide poor relief; coal properties will not bring even 10 cents on the dollar and whatever benevolence these 175,000 men, their dependents, and the population of the mining communities are to receive, must come from outside sources. In Pennsylvania alone approximately 60,000 coal miners are in dire want, 30,000 in Illinois, 10,000 in Indiana, 20,000 in Ohio, 20,000 in Kentucky, 30,000 in West Virginia. The remainder are scattered in coal-producing states east, west, north, and south.

The figures I have given represent a destitute population of more than 1,200,000 souls. They live among neighbors but little better off than themselves. They constitute a group whose labor is essential to the conduct of our business and the comfort of our lives. They are a courageous group; the hazards of their occupation testify to this. In the World War the United Mine Workers of America had the honor of carrying the largest service flag, with 54,000 stars emblazoned on it. They are as loyal as they are courageous. These destitute ones hardly know when they may eat their next meal. In many of the camps children are still going barefoot, and yet in the midst of this misery and distress they are repelling the propaganda of communism and syndicalism with a singular devotion to our Government and social institutions.

I speak not only for the members of our union but for the non-union miners. They seem to have no other spokesman. My plea is that in this

SOURCE MATERIALS

outpouring of national benevolence the mining communities shall not be forgotten; that something be done to clothe and feed the destitute of the mining camps; and that provision be made whereby this relief is assured to them through the Federal agents charged with the distribution of food and clothing in this "no man's land" of charity. I wish to emphasize this point that whatever relief Congress intends for this worthy class must, to prove efficient, be administered by a special agency in touch and familiar with the mining communities.

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Lewis, what has been happening to miners who have been thrown out of work in the isolated communities due to the decrease in consumption and the increased per-man output? Have they been able to leave those communities or find locations in other industries or are most of them still in those communities and therefore in need of assistance?

MR. LEWIS: Senator, the young men of these communities have gone rather far afield, and a certain percentage of them have been able to find locations elsewhere, in States and communities far removed, some of them in industrial centers, some of them in the agricultural regions, but that is a relatively small per cent of the total number affected.

The average miner, when he leaves home to find work elsewhere, with a few dollars of funds available perhaps for his adventure, tramps fruitlessly about the country from one industrial center to another, and from one manufacturing plant to another, and eventually is compelled to return to his home in some manner, begging rides on the highway or otherwise, because industry elsewhere from mining regions can not and will not absorb them under the present conditions in the country.

In addition to that, many of the younger men who heretofore have been employed in manufacturing centers, as the automobile industry, for instance, with the closing down or shrinkage of employment in that industry, have been compelled to return home to their people in order to live at all, and, as a matter of fact, we find those people, generally speaking, at the place they call their home. They have exhausted their savings. They have borrowed all their credit will stand. Many of them have lost their homes, if they were paying for homes or owned homes, through the foreclosure of mortgages or their inability to make good their payments to the building and loan associations, and a very terrible situation prevails among them. They have no place to which they can go and they have no place, no organized charity, to which they can appeal for relief.

The general concept of the average citizen may be that those relief agencies represented by the community chests in the very large centers

are caring for the destitution among the poor of the country. That is not at all true as affecting the mine workers. They live in isolated communities, communities so small ordinarily that they do not have a community chest or charitable organization, and it is impossible for them to secure any relief from the organized charities of the larger centers of population, so they have no place to go, because the local charities do not have the funds available to take care of them under the present emergency. . . .

Extract from the Testimony of Donald R. Richberg, counsel for the Railway Labor Executives Association.—This statement is made in behalf of and by direction of the Railway Labor Executives Association, which is composed of the chief executives of the 21 standard railway labor organizations. These organizations contain the representatives who are duly authorized under Federal law to speak for the (1) engineers; (2) firemen; (3) conductors; (4) brakemen; (5) switchmen; (6) dispatchers; (7) telegraphers; (8) machinists; (9) boilermakers; (10) blacksmiths; (11) sheet-metal workers; (12) electrical workers; (13) carmen; (14) stationary firemen; (15) maintenance of way employees; (16) clerks, express and station employees; (17) signalmen; (18) sleeping-car conductors; (19) masters, mates, and pilots; (20) marine engineers; and (21) longshoremen, whose services are essential to the operation of the steam railroads of the United States.

At this point, Mr. Chairman, I should like also to point out that there are certain so-called company unions of certain classes of employees which are financially supported by certain railroads and maintained (contrary to law) through the "interference, influence, or coercion" of management, which are illegal organizations and which have no authority to represent the employees for whom they claim to speak. Quoting from the Supreme Court of the United States:

Collective action would be a mockery if representation were made futile by interference with freedom of choice.

I point this out because I do speak, at the present time, in a representative capacity in behalf of the railroad employees of the United States who have, in accordance with Federal law, selected their own representatives.

In normal times not less than 1,900,000 employees have been required. To-day less than 1,300,000 are required; and only part-time employment is available for several hundred thousand of this reduced force.

I think it would be helpful to the committee to have a brief picture of

the unemployment in this group, because I think I can speak with considerably more definiteness than is the case with some of the information that has been given as to unemployment.

Serious unemployment developed on the railroads long before the fall of 1929. In 1929 more traffic was handled than in 1923, but with 200,000 less employees. Then came the rapid decline of traffic, retiring, in 1930, 220,000 more men; and, in 1931, an additional 220,000 (*I.C.C. Report*, 1931, p. 62). It is safe to say that to-day at least one-third of the railway employees are idle and at least one-third of the railway plant is likewise idle; 729,729 freight cars (33 per cent) and 15,198 locomotives (29.5 per cent) were idle October 1, 1931.

But the development of this calamity and the distribution of its burdens have not affected railway employees and investors equally. From 1923 through 1929, while 200,000 railway workers were losing their jobs, the aggregate payments to labor diminished \$757,000,000; and the aggregate payments of fixed charges and dividends increased \$1,050,000,000. At the same time over \$2,000,000,000 were being added to surpluses and over \$760,000,000 were being added to depreciation reserves. Comparing the year 1929 with 1923, wages were \$107,000,000 less; fixed charges \$47,000,000 more; dividends \$194,000,000 more; additions to surplus \$168,000,000 more; additions to depreciation reserve \$52,000,000 more.

Then came the year 1930, in which wage payments declined from 1929 to the extent of \$346,000,000; fixed charges were reduced about \$11,000,000; and dividends were increased about \$16,000,000; additions to surplus were slight, but depreciation reserves were increased by \$190,000,000.

The financial results of 1931 operations are not yet available. It has been fairly estimated that wages will show a further loss of nearly \$440,000,000; that fixed charges will be met; but that there will be available for surplus and dividends about \$380,000,000 less than in 1930.

With the foregoing figures in mind, let it be observed again that the burden of changing economic conditions has not been distributed between railway employees and investors with any obvious equity. The increase in fixed charges and dividends have amply repaid investors for their additional investments since 1923. Then out of their previous investments the investors have benefited (in addition to a fair return) by over \$2,000,000,000 added to surpluses and another billion dollars added to depreciation reserves. In the meantime the employees, who had invested their lives in the industry prior to 1923, have since then accumulated no surpluses and no depreciation reserves, but have suffered deficits in losses of earning power amounting to a total of \$1,543,000,000. The prospect

for 1932 is that the unemployment of railway labor will deprive these workers of \$750,000,000 annual income, and that the unemployment of railway capital will deprive these investors of \$350,000,000. With that fine sense of justice which might be expected, the representatives of idle capital have, therefore, asked the representatives of employed labor to contribute 10 per cent of their earnings, or about \$250,000,000 in the year 1932, as a dole for idle capital. The 10 per cent tin cup is about to be presented by gentlemen carrying a 15 per cent gun in the other hand.

I may explain that on the eve of a conference to discuss whether the employees should be asked to make a 10 per cent reduction the roads served a formal notice of a demand for a 15 per cent reduction in the pay rolls.

A national conference between an authorized committee of railway presidents and the Railway Labor Executives Association will be held in Chicago next week to consider what can be done, first, to relieve the distress of 600,000 railway workers who are unemployed and 600,000 additional railway workers who are not sufficiently employed to earn a decent livelihood, and, second, to relieve the distress of idle capital.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to make at this time a brief statement in regard to railway wages, because it is a subject so misunderstood that I do not believe the unemployment problem in the industry will be understood unless some true understanding is given of the exact situation in regard to railway wages. I am not diverting from the subjects before you, but I want to show the limitations on the part of railway employees to take care of their unemployment.

There has been so much misinformation spread throughout the country upon the subject of railway wages that it would hardly be possible to give a committee of the Congress any understanding of the need for unemployment relief among railway workers without, first, furnishing some exact information and, second, explaining how deceptive and misinformative are the statistics gathered and published by the railroads and the Interstate Commerce Commission on the subject of railway wages and employment.

You will find, for example, that the committees on public relations of the Eastern and Western railroads join in putting forth information to the effect that the average number of employees of class 1 railways during the year 1929 was 1,660,850; that the total wage payment that year was \$2,896,566,000, and that the "average annual wage" paid was, therefore, \$1,744. The corresponding figures for 1930 are given as: Average number

of employees, 1,488,353; total wage payment, \$2,550,544,000; "average annual wage," \$1,713.

This method of arriving at a pretended "average wage" has no parallel, of which we are aware, in the annals of statistical falsification. The average number of railway employees varies enormously from day to day, from month to month, and from road to road; and the annual "average number" is, of course, far less than the total number who earn the total compensation.

Every railroad in the country employs periodically a large number of men in excess of the average number, to take care of its peak traffic loads. Ten to 50 per cent more men than the reported "average" number may be employed even in one month in one class of labor at one location. In one arbitration case it was proved that 120 men in one group earned the total compensation which, according to the railroad method of computing "average" earnings, would be divided by 67 men. In that case we demonstrated that the alleged annual "average earnings" of firemen were reported as \$2,262 for men who, as a matter of fact, earned an average annual compensation of \$1,524.

Another absurd feature of alleged "average earnings" of men in the transportation service is that these men, contrary to the customs of other businesses, are required to pay their "away-from-home expenses" out of their wages, and their business requires them to be away from home a large part of the time.

During the past two years of depression, railway employees, particularly in the maintenance groups, have been dividing their work with each other when work was available and several hundred thousand men have only had three or four days work a week. Thus shopmen who have earned less than \$1,000 a year find themselves being reported by the railroads as enjoying "average wages" of \$1,592; and maintenance-of-way men, who regard themselves as fortunate in making \$750 a year, find themselves as enjoying "average wages" of \$1,128. Careful studies show that there are 400,000 men earning less than \$20 per week and an additional 600,000 earning less than \$30 per week.

The real facts must be made clear if Members of Congress and the public generally are to understand the existence of, and the reasons for, nationwide destitution in the ranks of railway workers. Less than 50 per cent of these workers have any assurance of continuous employment—which is the reward only of long and faithful service. Only a still smaller percentage earn wages which permit of any savings beyond the simple forms of a limited life or accident insurance obtainable through their

organizations. A large percentage are subject to the injuries and diseases which accompany what the insurance companies describe as a "hazardous occupation."

Before the general business depression began in 1929 some 200,000 men had lost their jobs. With the beginning of the depression, therefore, unemployment attacked, not the young and inexperienced workers who customarily suffer first in the decline of industry, but experienced men with years of service, and with families. In the last two years over 440,000 of these men have been forced into the ranks of the unemployed. Even in normal times the railway worker finds it difficult to get another job. The men engaged in actual transportation service, and a large part of the maintenance forces, are men trained in a public-service occupation, for whose work there is no precise parallel in private industry. Naturally in a time of nation-wide prostration of business, such as the present, there is little opportunity anywhere for these men to find employment and there is little in the nature of their work to make them self-sustaining. They live for the most part in large cities, in terminal and division points along the railroad. They are primarily a part of the industrial, urban population. They can not go "back to the farm"; they do not live on farms.

The great cities of the country are great railroad centers, and in the armies of the unemployed who walk the streets of these cities to-day will be found railroad men who are out of a job—45,000 firemen, 45,000 trainmen, 45,000 clerks, 200,000 shopmen, 150,000 maintenance-of-way men—to give examples from the lists compiled by the organizations.

It must be remembered that for much more than two years the organizations of these workers have been overburdened with the care of their unemployed members. Those employed have been maintaining dues and insurance for the unemployed. They have been furnishing in thousands of instances direct relief. It is hardly possible to find an employed railroad worker, earning more than mere subsistence, who has not been aiding the family of some relative or friend suffering for want of employment. The burdens of these years have worn away the narrow margin of savings, and the situation has been growing steadily worse as month after month of increasing unemployment has rolled by.

It is notorious, and this committee has ample evidence, that the relief agencies of the larger cities of the country are utterly unable to cope with the unemployment problem of this winter. It is notorious that the ability of our cities and States to raise additional money for public relief is in many cases exhausted.

Consider, for example, the situation in the city of Chicago, where private relief has raised but a small fraction of the money necessary to support the unemployed this winter. Chicago is a great railroad center and a great storehouse and clearing house for labor of every kind. But in the face of the inability of private charity to meet the needs of the situation, there is such a breakdown of local government that the teachers and other school employees have been unpaid for months, and the public schools are only kept open because the teachers and other employees have loaned to the schools over \$20,000,000 worth of services. And unless relief comes from action of the legislature, now in special session, there is a real possibility that the city of Chicago will soon be unable to maintain its fire, police, and health departments since the city treasury is practically empty, and its borrowing power is paralyzed.

In this connection, Mr. Chairman, I think I should point out that I appeared with others in a mass meeting in the city of Chicago last Monday night at which something over 26,000 people were gathered in the stadium to demand that the legislature revise the taxing powers of the city in such way that the city may be enabled to obtain money with which to sustain the teachers, the police, and the fire departments; and I want to state to you, from an intimate knowledge, having worked for weeks with committees of teachers and others on this problem, that the statement that the city of Chicago or Cook County can do anything to meet the unemployment situation this year is absurd. The city of Chicago nor Cook County are in a position to meet their ordinary obligations.

It can not be suggested seriously by any honest man conversant with the situation that the army of unemployed railroad men and other unemployed workers can hope to escape privation in the coming months through the State, municipal, or private aid which is available in the great cities of the country.

Perhaps the railroad men may bring to your attention one condition peculiarly affecting their unemployed, and that is the condition which exists in hundreds of so-called railroad towns scattered throughout the country. The main reason for the existence of many smaller cities is the fact that they are railroad terminal or division points. The location of shops and division offices, the changing of train and engine crews, often combine to give to a small city an important element of its population. In recent years many of these division points, shops, and offices have been moved on account of consolidations, or changes in methods of operation, and much hardship has been imposed upon the cities affected. During the last two years many of these cities have seen shops closed down for

long periods of time, train service seriously reduced, clerical offices consolidated, so that substantial losses of purchasing power have been produced, which have added much weight to other forces depressing the business life of the community. These communities are in no condition to raise additional moneys, either by taxes or private charity, to care for their unemployed.

Reference was made earlier in this statement to the forthcoming conference in Chicago at which it is anticipated that the railroads, through their committee of presidents, will invite the railway employees to agree to a deduction of 10 per cent from present pay rolls as a voluntary contribution to the relief of idle capital. The railway employees have heretofore expressed themselves vigorously as desiring some assurances from the managements that immediate measures would be taken to relieve unemployment and to stabilize employment on the railroads. In a letter dated November 21, addressed by Mr. D. B. Robertson, chairman of the Railway Labor Executives Association, to Mr. Daniel Willard, chairman of the special committee of railroad presidents, he wrote:

All railway employees have contributed generously to the relief of their fellow workers in distress. If they were called upon to budget all their contributions and to contribute 10 per cent of their earnings to the relief of 500,000 unemployed railways workers, such a proposal would seriously appeal to them.

But it was pointed out that the labor organizations had sought in vain for assurances that in return for any sacrifices on the part of the working employees there would come any relief of the widespread distress of the unemployed; and the letter continued:

We have been asked to contribute not to the relief of our fellow employees but to the relief of those who have no claim upon our charity. We submit that impartial public opinion will support our answer that labor can not be called upon to pay a dole to idle capital.

Perhaps there have been voices raised since that letter was written, expressing influential opinion in support of the humanitarian position taken by the railway workers. But if so, such voices seem to have been drowned in the flood of propaganda and partisan opinion put forth by those who may be regarded as the possessors and guardians of great wealth in the United States, who have been urging, in fact demanding, that the railway workers contribute 10 per cent of their meager earnings to help support the investors of capital in their industry. Therefore, it appears that this is perhaps a most appropriate time and place in which to state most emphatically that there are at least 500,000 unemployed railway workers in the United States to-day who must be given somewhere and somehow

the means of subsistence for themselves and their families in the coming months. If, through any means, whether by the tin cup or the gun, the earnings of the present railway workers should be reduced, without a corresponding increase of employment which would put more men to work and give part-time workers more work to do, let it be recognized that thereby the present supports and hopes of 500,000 unemployed railway workers will be broken down, and thereby the public responsibility for rendering further aid to protect these 500,000 men and their dependents will be increased.

This committee is now taking evidence to determine whether perhaps \$250,000,000 should be appropriated by all the people through the Federal Government to relieve unemployment distress this winter. And it appears that at this very time a committee representing the great railroad systems is preparing to meet with the association which I am here representing; and that in Chicago next week this committee of railroad presidents is expected to ask the railway employees alone to appropriate \$250,000,000 for unemployment relief. The object of the railroad committee, however, appears to be the relief of unemployed capital, and the object of this senatorial committee appears to be the relief of unemployed labor. But if it is at all reasonable to ask 1 per cent of the population to contribute \$250,000,000 to the relief of unemployed capital it seems wholly reasonable to ask all the people to contribute the same amount to the relief of unemployed labor.

Would it not seem highly desirable to ask the railroad presidents and the great financial houses who are taking the position that labor should support idle capital to come before this committee and to state frankly whether they are in favor of unemployment relief for anyone except the owners of property? There has been project after project presented to this Congress for the relief of capital; and men of high position and vast influence seem to think it sound doctrine to urge that the full resources of the Federal Government should be invoked to relieve the distress of all men who have frozen assets. Therefore speaking directly for half a million unemployed workers, we would like to ask what frozen asset is more deserving of sympathy and relief than the asset of a capacity and willingness to work, which is frozen in a man who can not find a job? We would suggest that unless the frozen assets of American manhood are kept alive this winter the other frozen assets will take a long time to thaw; and it may eventually require something more dynamic than hot air and credit corporations to do the work.

Speaking for the men who render the transportation service of this

Nation—the men who are the transportation industry—who are infinitely more valuable to this Nation than all the locomotives, freight cars, rails, and ties in which capital is now lying idle, and speaking particularly for 500,000 unemployed essential workers, we wish to make it clear that in our opinion the demand for Federal relief of unemployment is already long overdue. It should have been heard and acted upon in the last Congress. The Federal Government alone has full power to command the devotion of the vast resources of the Nation to preserve the health and well being of its people. It is intolerable even to consider that throughout a third long winter of want and privation the best available means of furnishing food and clothing and shelter for millions of suffering Americans should remain unused. Somewhere in human nature there is a limit to the injustice and misery to which men will voluntarily submit. Too many men and women have walked the streets for too many months, looking for work. Too many men, women, and children have been hungry in the midst of plenty too long—far too long.

The prosperity and wealth of America is the product of the workers of America. It may not be written in the Constitution, but it is written in the religion of America, that the wealth of America is held in trust for the people of America. And it is written in the Constitution that the power to tax the wealth of America to provide for the common defense and general welfare lies in the Congress of the United States. If a foreign foe threatened to bombard one of our cities and endanger the lives of even 10,000 people, would the Congress hesitate to act? To-day we know that 7,000,000 unemployed and their dependents, at least one-sixth of the entire population, are menaced by the deadliest foe of modern civilization—unemployment. We are confronted by an enemy within our gates—an enemy that we have developed out of our industrial civilization, which must be destroyed before it shall destroy us. The duty of the Congress to do all within its power to relieve our suffering people, to create and encourage new agencies of employment, to encourage new hope in our future and to revive faith in our Government and in ourselves, is clear beyond questioning.

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Richberg, have you anything to add to the statement as an individual citizen of this country? . . . There is obviously nothing in your philosophy of government which excludes Federal co-operation at this time with the States in giving direct relief.

MR. RICHBERG: It seems to me, Senator, that it is just paltering with a serious subject to discuss any relief except the relief by the one agency which has the power to tap the large financial resources in this Nation.

I have been a representative, in a legal capacity, of a city treasurer for years and of boards of assessors for years. I am thoroughly familiar with the possibility of local governments and States raising funds, and all through the United States without consulting any diagram or statistical compilation, I know from my own information that the limitation which hedge about the raising of money by local governments or State governments are such as to make them entirely impotent to meet the needs of the present situation, and that the Federal Government alone has the capacity to tap the resources which are available.

SENATOR COSTIGAN: . . . May I ask you whether the Federal relief program, which taps the larger incomes through the income tax, is not the only available method of making the centers of largest wealth contribute to our unemployment-relief needs?

MR. RICHBERG: It is the only method concerning which I have any information for tapping those sources of wealth. But I do not understand the philosophy which seems to assume that this wealth in New York, for example, is peculiarly the wealth of the State of New York, because, as a matter of fact, the great financial centers and the great commercial centers and great manufacturing centers accumulate their wealth from the entire country and they simply happen to be storehouses in New York and Chicago and Pittsburgh and elsewhere of wealth which has been taken from the entire population and there is no way of sending any part of that back to an emergency service for the whole population except to tax the wealth where it is found.

I see no reason for assuming that the citizens of New York have produced the wealth that happens to be concentrated in New York State. I know it is not true. . . .

Extract from the testimony of Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.—The first hopeful signs I have observed were while sitting here listening to the testimony given by some gentleman as to the situation in the country. I, myself, find a condition of utmost despair. I find a condition I do not believe gentlemen in Washington can begin to appreciate. It is of the utmost distress and the situation is becoming worse almost daily.

In our own industry there were 170,000 people employed in 1919 and 1920. Through technological unemployment it was reduced to about 100,000 or 110,000. The last year, in the whole Nation, 50 per cent of those engaged in our industry were unemployed. Now many of those

who had found employment elsewhere have lost that employment and are trying to come back into the industry.

Today, in New York City, our largest center in the country, our industry, being a seasonal industry, is engaged in manufacturing clothing for next spring and summer. And there are less than 10 per cent of the workers employed—less than 10 per cent. . . . The people who are employed, will have less than 10 weeks' work for the whole season. By March, the early part of March, the clothing has to be shipped to the retailer for summer consumption, and still probably 50 per cent of the people will be totally unemployed. At best these workers can look for only 8 to 10 weeks of employment and then they will have to go along and wait for the next season.

I find in our own industry—and I refer to a city that some people are not worried so much about, New York—the relief given to-day is totally inadequate. If the people really in distress were cared for, the funds raised would be exhausted already. People are simply falling overboard by hundreds daily, a condition that, in my experience, has never seemed possible in this country.

In the city of Chicago our union taxed the employed members last winter 50 cents a week to carry those totally unemployed, and in our industry we are trying to divide the work so as to give employment to as many as possible. This tax has been continued, and I find sometimes that taking this 50 cent tax a week leaves less than 50 cents in the pay envelope—that is, in the pay envelope of a so-called employed worker. We are all very much concerned about the seven or eight million totally unemployed, but we do not know the condition of the people who have so-called employment.

SENATOR COSTIGAN: In that connection, last May I heard one of the best-informed men in America say in substance to the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce that there were not only 6,000,000 totally unemployed at that time, but there were also not less than 3,600,000 listed as part-time employed, who were totally unemployed.

MR. HILLMAN: There are not 5 per cent of the people in our industry whom we would call to-day totally employed.

SENATOR COSTIGAN: The situation among the employed is very grave?

MR. HILLMAN: I would say that most of the people who are employed are in a situation of distress and in need of relief.

THE CHAIRMAN: Did I understand you to say that you find in many cases in Chicago where you have been asking for 50 cents a week from

people who are said to be employed, that after they make that contribution it leaves them 50 cents per week as their total income?

MR. HILLMAN: I was told by the manager of our Chicago joint board, who was there last week, of one such instance—and they naturally refused to take the contribution.

I have been privileged here to listen to representatives of organized industries, the so-called aristocrats of labor. Now, I happen to represent people who are on a much lower scale. We represent an industry where we have no protection outside of what our organization can give to our people and if nothing is done the whole structure of improvement which has gone along in the last decades will be completely broken down. We are going back, if conditions prevail as they are today, to the old condition of the sweat shop.

We have an investigation made in some of the nonunion centers of Pennsylvania, and we did not find a single individual earning more than \$10 a week. That is when they are employed. Of course, the question of the dole may enter into this matter of relief. I am one very much in favor of even a dole to capital. If I were a member of the Senate or House I would vote for anything that would possibly give a start somewhere. It is a vicious circle, after all. People out of business mean men out of work and more men out of work mean more men out of business. I know a great many people formerly earning from \$20,000 up that are today in a condition of complete distress, and unless something is done we cannot foretell what the results will be. If I should find fault with your bills at all, I should say that they are inadequate. I do not believe a quarter of a billion dollars will go anywhere toward meeting the situation.

Of those who believe that it is not quite timely as yet to give relief, I would ask by what standard are we to gauge the time; must we have hundreds of thousands of people actually dead and dying from starvation; must we have bread riots? What is necessary to convince them there is a need for Federal and speedy relief? The city of New York, the richest city in the world, is not doing half that it should do. Today in Chicago or New York or any other city, people who once supported others when they had jobs are themselves in need of assistance. To discuss and quibble now about the dole or anything else is to assume the responsibility of practically saying that the great mass of the people must starve. It is not a question of what is going to happen, but of what is going on right now.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is happening to the living standards and health conditions among the unemployed?

MR. HILLMAN: Everything worth while built up in the last few decades is being annihilated and destroyed. It is all going down at a speed that is just appalling. I would like to say that if conditions remain as they look to-day, there will be thousands and thousands of people totally unemployed in our industry. There is nothing to bring in a sense of comfort and a sense of stability. I am one of those who never have believed that conspiracy of silence will instill confidence in a community. There is all this talk of hopefulness, but we know better. In 1929 and 1930 they got away with it. It has done a great deal of harm to the country because we would be a great deal better off if they had realized the condition that faced us in 1930. In 1931 there was this conspiracy not to speak out loud because it was feared things would be unsettled. I believe that these tactics are responsible for the present complete lack of credence placed in statements given out to-day by those in high places.

SENATOR COSTIGAN: Mr. Hillman, Mr. Richberg gave some impressive statistics this morning with respect to unemployment among railway workers. Has your observation led you to generalize as to the extent of unemployment known as technological unemployment?

MR. HILLMAN: Well, there have been several statistical surveys. To-day I do not know anyone who knows what is going to happen. Certainly if we had normal conditions to-morrow, we would still have millions of people with no place to work, and nothing but a shortening of the working day nationally, and the protection of a decent standard of living would do any good. No hokus pokus will take us out of that situation.

SENATOR COSTIGAN: And in the meantime there is great distress?

MR. HILLMAN: That is not the word to describe it. I would say that families by thousands are being broken up. Fathers no longer have the courage to face their families. The standards of living built up are being broken down.

I have a great deal of sympathy with the railroad men in the reduction facing them. However, we have faced that long ago. There is a vicious circle, just destroying more and more every day. This very day, so many more are destroyed.

All of the attempts being made in Congress are to stop some corporations from going into bankruptcy. So far, so good, but nothing is done to get business going—nothing. Call it inflation or call it by any name, we ought to be concerned about providing a decent sort of living for the men and women in this country and I am not concerned whether the county of Cook or the city of Chicago will do it or whether they want to do it or not. There is one agency that can do it, and that is the Government in

Washington, and not doing it is merely going back on a sacred trust and responsibility. If Congress does not do something of a fundamental nature, it is going back on the people of these United States—it is just deserting the army of unemployed, who find themselves in the first trenches, worse off than in the war, because some of those could meet gun fire and come back, but today there is no way of dodging the deadly effects of unemployment.

For Congress to sit back and quibble about certain things, I believe is to definitely dodge responsibility and shirk obligations.

I am speaking feelingly to-day, because no one can meet any group connected with labor without realizing, as I do, the terrible distress that prevails, and one must be inhuman to quibble about it.

Talk about information! All you have to do is to go on any street and look at the faces of the people and get all the information you want as to what is happening in the homes. We have exhausted all our resources and can not help others, and those others need help to-day. There is growing a feeling of callousness and cruelty. Right in Times Square to-day thousands of people are standing in the breadlines in the cold and rain waiting for a sandwich and a cup of coffee, and yet it is said we do not know that there is a definite situation of distress which should be relieved by the Government. I believe that a bill should be passed quickly. Activity against legislation of this character to-day is the same as sabotage during a war emergency. We have our opinion about war, but at least when you put the boys in the trenches, you are responsible for supplying them, and now we, in the industrial army, find ourselves completely wiped out; from a Government with any sense of responsibility to the citizenship of the country, the least we can expect are the bare necessities of life.

I would accept \$15 a week as a fine standard. If \$15 a week were given to everyone in New York who needed it the relief fund would have been exhausted long ago.

Also, we must have legislation that will stop this deadly process of deflation. Those people who talked light-heartedly about deflation a year or a year and a half ago—well, some of them have been deflated by now themselves. The only ones who have not are a few monopolistic companies who know the Government will put all its resources behind them to protect them. I am not particularly concerned about legal quibbling. There is only one power left—the Congress of the United States. Let the Congress courageously pass legislation that will make it possible to look hopefully to the future and not merely talk about the future.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you regard legislation which provides for the re-

financing of the obligations of railroad companies, insurance organizations, and distressed banks as the type of legislation which will stop the deflation which you have been discussing?

MR. HILLMAN: No; but that is legislation I would like to see enacted. When the house is on fire I am not particularly concerned whether it is the maid or the owner of the house that needs help. Everything has to be done to stop bankruptcy, but stopping bankruptcies does not mean stopping the deflation.

We were in a better position a year ago than to-day and there was held out much encouragement that the wheels of industry would get going. But they could not do it. Nothing rights itself by itself. Anyone knows that who has studied economics at all. The only way to give the people the sense of security that they must have is to give them their jobs. It can be done only in one way—national legislation providing for the shorter work day. A country like ours, with over 120,000,000 men and women, the finest workers in the world, has nothing to worry about if human intelligence is applied to the problem. Sitting back and shouting beautiful sentiments does not accomplish anything. That is not satisfactory to the people; that has not gotten us anywhere.

I would do anything if I thought it would be a beginning toward bettered future conditions, but to delude ourselves into a false sense of security when there is no security simply means that we will have to face a worse situation in the near future.

NOTES AND COMMENT

TWENTY YEARS OF THE CHILDREN'S BUREAU

SOCIAL work celebrates this year the twentieth anniversary of the establishment of the United States Children's Bureau. Since its organization in 1912 this Bureau has been continuously in charge of two former Hull-House residents, Julia C. Lathrop, chief from 1912 to 1921, and Grace Abbott, chief from 1921 to the present time, appointed by President Harding to succeed Miss Lathrop. These two women have both been social work leaders identified with the social work professional group and have not only furnished courageous and independent leadership in the child welfare movement but have so directed the Bureau that its work has represented the best that research in the science of social welfare has to offer.

From the beginning, the Bureau has selected its personnel on a carefully planned "merit system," the result of which has been not only the development of a competent Bureau staff but a demonstration of what can be done with a civil service system administered honestly and intelligently.

The Bureau set from the first a high standard of social research. Scientific methods involving meticulous accuracy were followed by constructive interpretation of statistical returns. The whole field of social research in this country has been influenced by Bureau methods, and new standards of work in this field are gradually being developed. The Bureau has not been afraid to use research *pro bono publico*. Some extensive statistical inquiries have been carried on, but the findings of the field studies have been interpreted by experienced members of the social work group who have not been afraid to say that black is black—when it is black—and to suggest the constructive solution indicated by the findings.

The series of studies of infant mortality was one of the earliest undertakings of the Bureau, and this led promptly to the movement for birth registration and the development of the Birth Registration Area. The Bureau went on to the subject of maternal mortality, and the studies of maternity and infant care were carried on in various sections of the country from the rural and ranch areas of the West to the plantation country of the South and everywhere the studies showed that unnecessary deaths of mothers and babies could be prevented if a national program could be worked out and supported by national funds.

Until the Bureau was established, no one knew accurately how many babies were born in the course of a year, how many died, or why or how they died. All that has been changed by the work of the Bureau. The initial infant mortality study made in an industrial town in 1913 was, by the special direction of Congress, repeated in nine other industrial towns and cities including such large urban areas as Baltimore, and Gary, Indiana. Studies of the care available to mothers and infants in typical rural communities of twelve states showed a coincidence in all these studies of a high infant mortality rate with low earnings, poor housing, the employment of the mother outside the home. Public attention was vigorously called to the great variation in infant mortality rates, not only in different parts of the United States, but in different parts of the same state and the same city or town. These differences were found to be caused by different population elements, widely varying social and economic conditions, difference in appreciation of good prenatal and infant care, and the facilities available for such care.

Evidence showing the methods used in successful efforts to reduce infant mortality was also assembled. The instruction of mothers through infant welfare centers, public health nurses, and popular bulletins as to the proper care of children, the value of breast-feeding, the importance of consulting a doctor upon the first evidence of disease, such methods brought substantial decreases in deaths, especially from causes classified in the gastrointestinal and respiratory groups. But little progress was made in reducing deaths in early infancy, including deaths caused by premature birth, congenital debility, and injuries at birth. The work of the Bureau with its consideration of the causes of infant mortality inevitably led, therefore, to the question of the care mothers were receiving before, during and after childbirth.

An analysis of the available statistical information with reference to deaths among mothers, which was published by the Bureau in 1917, was the subject of much discussion; and in a few places the possibility of reducing this death-rate through prenatal supervision in connection with prenatal clinics of maternity centers was demonstrated.

In her annual report for 1917, Julia Lathrop suggested that the United States should use the well established principle of federal aid as a basis of national and state co-operation in reducing the unnecessarily high death-rate among mothers and infants in this country. The best-known previously enacted laws of this general type were: the Morrill Act of 1862, providing for land-grant colleges; the Hatch Act of 1887, establishing agricultural experiment stations; the Smith-Lever Act of 1914, creating

the agricultural extension service; the Good Roads Act of 1916, which had been extended by later acts; and the Vocational Education Act of 1917. For an almost innumerable number of objects Congress had made temporary "grants-in-aid" to the states from time to time. In view of the overwhelming evidence of the need of promoting on a national scale the health of mothers and infants and the successful demonstration by a number of public and private agencies in different parts of the country of what could be done through maternity and well-baby centers, there seemed to be a clear case for the method of state and federal co-operation which had been so frequently used for less important ends.

The Sheppard-Towner Act for the Promotion of the Welfare and Hygiene of Maternity and Infancy, which became a law November 23, 1921, was in all essentials the same as the plan for the "public protection of maternity and infancy" submitted by Miss Lathrop in her annual report for 1917. This great act has now been allowed to lapse through the failure to make appropriations during the present administration, but the record of work done¹ remains a permanent challenge to the men of this country who continue to support pork-barrel appropriations while the mothers and children of their poorer constituents continue to pay a heavy price for their existence.

Two great pieces of protective legislation for which the Bureau has been largely responsible, both in securing legislation and administering it, are part of the permanent record of social advance and the "march of righteous progress." One of these is the Maternity and Infancy Act just referred to, still known by the name of its first congressional sponsors as Sheppard-Towner. The other was the Federal Child Labor Law,² which was in operation from January to September, 1917, when it was declared unconstitutional.³ This was followed by the second Federal Child Labor Law, which was also declared unconstitutional.⁴ With both federal child labor laws declared unconstitutional, the Bureau then advocated a Child Labor Amendment, which passed both houses of Congress but is still before the state legislatures awaiting ratification. The Bureau has stood four-square to all the adverse winds that have tried to

¹ See, e.g., U.S. Department of Labor, *Children's Bureau Publications*, Numbers 137, 146, 156, 178, 194, 203, the special annual reports of the chief of the Bureau on the Administration of the Maternity and Infancy Act. See also various Bureau publications on the Maternity Act and the *Congressional Hearings* on this subject. This Act was challenged as a violation of the Constitution and the U.S. Supreme Court decided that it was unconstitutional (see *Massachusetts v. Mellon*, 262 U.S. 447 at 488).

² See U.S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau Publication No. 78, *Administration of the First Federal Child Labor Law*.

³ *Hammer v. Dagenhart*, 247 U.S. 252. ⁴ *Bailey v. Drexel Furniture Co.*, 259 U.S. 20.

destroy the growing sense of public responsibility for preventive work for children. In spite of continuing opposition from many selfish interests, the Child Labor Amendment is still before the country and the Maternity and Infancy Act is still before Congress. The social workers of the country have been staunch in their support of both measures.

Illustrating another important phase of Bureau activity, a word should be said about the four popular pamphlets that have affected the lives of large numbers of children: *Infant Care*, a simple, attractive, paper-bound book by the best medical authorities, which is one of the nation's best-sellers (more than half a million copies are distributed in a single year); two other popular handbooks by the Bureau's pediatricians, *Prenatal Care* and *Child Care*, of which about 150,000 copies are distributed in the course of a year; and *Child Management*, which contains the lessons of the new "child guidance" teachings. All told more than a million and a half copies of these small paper-bound books carefully prepared so as to be as helpful to parents as possible are distributed in a single year.

The Bureau has been quick to note the effect of the current depression on the care of children. At the time of the industrial depression of 1921 and 1922 the Bureau undertook a careful study of the effect of unemployment upon local problems of child welfare. The findings of this report¹ indicated that children suffer not temporary but permanent losses as a result of a period of industrial depression.

The last report of the chief, issued in July, 1931, points to evidences of the great suffering of children during the present depression that came to the Bureau from many sections of the country where local relief was inadequate or poorly organized during the winter of 1930. Attention is called particularly to the one-industry towns and the neglected and remote mining villages. The chief, in her report, asks help for the single-industry communities in which the industry has practically closed down and the mining communities where the depression began long before the market crash of 1929, in which unemployment and underemployment have been the rule. This situation has grown more serious during the past year in the mining districts of some seven or eight states. . . . Investigation in mining and small industrial towns in which the whole community life is dependent on the mines or industry which have virtually suspended operation showed that some sources of relief have not been adequately developed, and that available funds in some instances might have been more wisely expended. Local public and private resources, however, are quite inadequate in these areas to meet the needs of the children of the unemployed or underemployed

¹ Children's Bureau Publication No. 125, *Unemployment and Child Welfare; a Study Made in a Middle-Western and an Eastern City during the Industrial Depression of 1921 and 1922*.

men. In many of these towns there is little hope of revival of business which will give employment to the numbers who have lived off the industry in the past. Demobilization, removal of the workers to other towns, and reeducation for other work will be necessary for many. Such a program presents special difficulties at the present time. In the meantime the children must be fed. These communities are not more capable of carrying the relief load by either local public taxation or private gifts than is a poor district in a city [pp. 8-9].

The Bureau has expanded its co-operation with state and local agencies in connection with the assembling of current statistics relating especially to child labor, delinquency, dependency, and health services for children. Various research undertakings in these and other fields have been carried out. Both popular and scientific bulletins have been prepared and distributed. The *Annual Report* of the chief has become a real social work yearbook so far as child welfare is concerned. The report contains, for example, a valuable summary each year of the legislation relating to children in the nation's forty-eight states, of the work of juvenile courts of the country, and various current child welfare statistics not available elsewhere.

The work has been organized and carried through not only in the various states but in Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippine Islands. The Bureau has taken an active responsibility for the Pan-American Child Welfare Congresses and the Child Welfare Committee of the League of Nations. The chief of the Bureau has also represented the State Department as an active member of the League of Nations Committee on the Traffic in Women and Children where the great inquiry in this field that has been carried on with such success in Europe and South America was suggested by the American representative, the chief of the Children's Bureau. But the *Review* need not try to tell the story of the twenty crowded years that the Children's Bureau has to its credit. This story is familiar to our readers and is one of the great achievements of the social work group in this country.

THE NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

THE National Conference of Social Work, which meets in Philadelphia, May 15-21, the American Association of Social Workers meeting at the same time and place, and the International Conference of Social Work meeting in Frankfurt, Germany, July 10-14, will all deal with the disastrous social consequences of the depression and help us to learn how to struggle forward in spite of it. An interesting German-American Institute has been announced in connection with the International Conference; and Seminar Travel groups under Mr. E. C. Lindeman, Mr.

Paul Beisser, Mr. Kenneth Pray, and Mr. Homer Calver are also an attraction for those who are able to go to the International Conference. This is a hard year for any conference, international, national, or local, but perhaps with the help of our professional organizations we shall see light breaking on our darkness.

THE SETTLEMENTS ON RELIEF METHODS

THE president of the Chicago Federation of Settlements, Lea Taylor of the Chicago Commons, sent a very useful letter to Mr. Ryerson, president of the Joint Emergency Relief Fund, that will be of interest outside of Chicago and is therefore printed below:

The Chicago Federation of Settlements wishes to express its appreciation of the fine work which has been put into the prolonged fight to secure public funds from the state for the help of the unemployed and their families.

It is the hope of the Federation that those responsible for the administration of the Fund will insist upon placing the relief given to families on a more adequate basis than has been possible in these last weeks of retrenchment when private funds were diminishing.

We believe that the continued use of the ration as a basis for family relief will destroy family initiative and independence and is destructive of morale and self-respect. It is difficult to adjust the ration to the needs or tastes of the family. It is inadjustable to emergencies, to illness or to the need of special diet. The delays in delivery of the ration bring disaster to the family, as no credit is possible. It increases the insecurity of living. It will bring to dependency the families of neighborhood grocers. It allows nothing for minor household supplies, or for kerosene in the many families dependent upon oil lamps for the lighting of the home.

Since the use of the ration is recognized by social workers as a last resort, we hope it will be possible to return to the grocery order at least with an additional allowance of cash for household expenditures, for fresh food, and for the emergencies of every-day life.

We would like to go on record as urging the cash allowance in place of the grocery order to all families that can buy carefully and well.

We believe that rents must be considered as necessary expenditures if family life is to be maintained, and that provision for rent must surely be made in cases of eviction, of illness, of mental stress, and where there are small children.

We believe that gas should be provided in all instances where there is not an adequate kitchen range, and that a small heater or garbage burner should not be considered a substitute for a cook stove.

We believe that electricity must be considered a part of a family budget where there are small children or children of school age, or where there is illness.

We believe that clothing and household supplies which are used up or at low ebb in many families must be provided for in some way.

Carfare should be furnished by the street car company, the Board of Education, or the relief fund, for children of high school age in unemployed or dependent families, who live beyond walking distance from a high school, and are now out of school.

We firmly believe that every effort should be made to preserve a basis for family life. We believe that the above minimum essentials, together with a more adequate food budget, are necessary for the thousands of families most of whom have been through months of stress already, and who face many months ahead.

We hope that there will not be an effort to conserve this public fund at the expense of a decent minimum standard of living. Because of the fact that the state fund will be quite insufficient for the year ahead, we urge the necessity of backing congressional action.

We realize the super-human efforts which have been made to meet the crisis, and the untiring work of those who carry this tremendous overload of work. But we also sense keenly the serious mal-adjustments which continually face families when relief must be handled on so large a scale, and the tragedy which comes with the impossibility of individual adjustment, the delays and the insecurity of living.

We strongly urge the return to a more adequate basis of relief, in the absence of which society will in the long run meet much higher costs in illness, mental conditions, juvenile delinquency, and the breakdown in family and individual standards of life, which costs will be higher than would be the cost of more adequate relief at this time.

Sincerely yours,

LEA TAYLOR
President

It is true, of course, that the relief agencies do not like relief in kind any better than the settlements. They are forced to make economies even when they mean a substantial lowering of standards. All over the country the shortage of relief funds is being met by less adequate relief, administered according to lower standards.

FOURTH GERMAN EMERGENCY ORDER

THE public social services of Germany were severely cut by the fourth executive emergency orders, which were issued by the German president on December 8, 1931, to safeguard the budget and restore the economic soundness of the nation. These orders were set out in a volume of forty-six pages and nine sections. Prices of commodities were arbitrarily cut. Taxes on buildings, originally levied to equalize inflation losses of owners of paper securities and of real estate and to provide funds for public housing projects, were sharply reduced. Rents of dwelling houses were reduced from the existing legally permissible low maximum rates.

One of the social services to suffer was the German sickness insurance

scheme. Written contracts designed to discourage excessive use of medical service and charges therefor were required between doctors and insurance offices. Benefits were curtailed, and additional safeguards were set up against unnecessary or unwarranted use of insurance funds. In accident insurance the old and very objectionable principle of contributory negligence was reintroduced in the provision that under such circumstances benefits could be entirely or partly refused. Grant of cash benefits was limited. The Joint Risks Association, which was the employers' insurance carrier for accident insurance, was empowered to refuse benefits if the injury reduced earning capacity no more than one-third. Benefits in the special insurance schemes for miners and for salaried employees were curtailed. Pensions were cut. Salaries of public employees were cut and legal minimum wage rates that were renewable at that time were temporarily abandoned. These drastic "cuts" in the social insurance provisions will, of course, mean that more destitute people must be cared for by the poor law.

But even poor relief assistance is made more deterrent. A fourth amendment to the Federal Public Welfare Act altered settlement provisions because of difficulties arising from the interrelationship of unemployment insurance benefits and poor relief. Unemployment benefits, paid without reference to legal residence, were thought to encourage farm laborers to migrate to the city to become chargeable there when they had exhausted claim to such benefits.

Other executive orders cut costs of public health services, and, although an effort was made to avoid reducing necessary services, this cannot be avoided. These orders specifically covered maternity and infancy care, school children's physical and dental health, the cure of physical handicaps, tuberculosis, venereal disease, and alcoholism. Workers in those fields questioned whether the drastic economies contemplated could be effected without serious impairment of services.

The German National Office of Private Child Welfare Agencies made a counter-proposal in an emergency program for child care. This organization insisted upon the retention of preventive and protective measures partly to compensate for the dangers to the physical and spiritual development of children resulting from the desperate economic situation and social disorganization. The effects of undernourishment, inadequate clothing and housing, and overcrowding in schools were emphasized, and attention was called to the seriousness of physical, mental, and moral inadequacy among a large proportion of those who were soon to assume the adult responsibilities of the economic and political life of the country.

Minimum standards were suggested for physical protection and care of mothers, infants, young children, sick and handicapped children; for unemployed juveniles, for mental defectives; for neglected and morally endangered children and for maintenance of social strength.

The story is much the same all over the Western world. The social services are never more needed than during a disastrous period of depression with the resultant destitution. But it is precisely at such a time that the demand for economies is likely to be met by attempts to reduce expenditures for social welfare purposes.

M. R. C.

GERMAN SOCIAL WELFARE OUTLOOK

WHAT America still calls "the emergency" has long since assumed the proportions of a major disaster in many countries. A recent letter from a German social worker describes the situation there as it affects social welfare organizations.

The catastrophic condition of the cities and rural districts is necessitating systematic break-down of social work of all sorts that has been slowly built up in the past ten years. Social workers are being laid off, kindergartens closed, sick children dismissed from convalescent homes before cured, crippled children and mental defectives left to their fate. Young workers have been out of work for three to four years after completion of their apprenticeship. This is the generation that within a decade will produce the leaders in political life.

It is shocking to see small children literally pining away. The federal allowance supplementary to family relief for these children is 14 marks monthly. Pensions to necessitous persons who lost all during the inflation have been reduced to 36 marks monthly.

FREDERICK PICKERING CABOT, 1868-1932

THE sudden death of "Judge Cabot of Boston," for so he has been known to the social workers of America, is a serious loss to the development of social work in this country. Judge Baker's successor as judge of the Juvenile Court, Judge Cabot has been a public-spirited leader in the field of social work for children during the past fifteen years. A distinguished member of an older profession, we counted him also as "one of ours." In preparing committee reports for the White House Conference on Child Welfare of 1930-31, Judge Cabot was tireless in his efforts to wrest something constructive out of that organization. Those who were privileged to work with him on those committees have an abiding memory of his devoted service in behalf of the "children of the state."

JULIUS ROSENWALD, 1862-1932

HE WAS the greatest philanthropist of his generation—and the most respected. He developed new principles of constructive giving, and his discussions of philanthropic endowments had a wide public influence. He was a man whose simplicity of life and ideals of work brought him into close contact with the social work group of his city and his country. He served as an active member of the boards of numerous social agencies, local and national, Jewish and non-Jewish. He was, for example, still a member of the board of the Chicago United Charities and one of the Hull-House trustees at the time of his death; and only a little more than a year ago, when the old friends of Hull-House gathered to pay tribute to Miss Addams and her distinguished associates, Mrs. Kelley and Miss Lathrop on their Fortieth Anniversary, Mr. Rosenwald was there at the simple residents' supper and gathering in Bowen Hall—friendly and interested, as always, in the social workers who had come together to honor the women who had served their generation so well.

His long-time service for the American Negro cannot be measured by his contribution in money, magnificent as it was. His fundamental democracy of spirit enabled him to give financial support in a way that also gave dignity to the cause he served. Those whom he invited to go with him year after year on his Tuskegee pilgrimages carried away with them long memories of simple cordial relations between the rich and the poor, the great and the humble of this world. Going through Montgomery County over rough country roads to see the new Negro schools he had helped to build, he sat gravely attentive on the strangely decorated "speaker's platforms" arranged in the strangest surroundings that this country offers. Negroes of all ages and sizes and in every possible variety of costume came together in little groups to dedicate their schools and to thank the man who had helped them to help themselves. In the words of his favorite Negro spiritual, he loved best to "walk in Jerusalem just like John."

In Chicago he worked not only with the large but with the small organizations where he thought real work was being done. A list of the social agency boards on which he served, not as an honorary, but an active participating member, would include those carrying the bulk of the Chicago work. It may not be out of place here to acknowledge a long-continued personal debt. When he was an active member of the board of the old "School of Civics," he was quick to see the advantages offered by organization within a university for such a school. As a trustee of the University of Chicago, he was largely responsible for the final arrangement by which the School became one of the graduate professional schools of this University. It was with his help that the difficult period of transi-

tion from "the old School" to the new University status was carried out. The early plans of the School, in the University, for research and publication were carried through with his immediate help. He was interested in the project of a *Social Service Series* of "case books" and documents, and in the *Social Service Monographs*, and he gave great encouragement to the plans for the establishment of this *Review*.

His early associations with Hull-House and the old School of Civics made it natural for him to think of the United States Children's Bureau as a sound national development from the Chicago movements, and he was always concerned for the extension of the Bureau and especially for its protection in the establishment of professional standards and the adherence to the merit system. He had no use for "spoils" of any sort and gave whole-hearted support to a movement that meant efficiency in service and the abolition of political trading of all kinds.

To the men and women who have carried on the social work program of Chicago and Illinois for the last third of a century, he will always be remembered as "a comrade in arms," a man who took counsel with them and gave generously of his time and his fine intelligence as well as his great wealth. He came to our meetings and until recently sat on very humble committees, meeting at inconvenient hours and in uncomfortable places.

Those who knew the simplicity of his life and the generosity of his spirit like to remember that he was born in Springfield, the capital city of Illinois, at a time when Springfield was still the home of Abraham Lincoln; and they will always believe that Julius Rosenwald carried away with him from Lincoln's Illinois prairies a priceless tradition of service in behalf of those downtrodden and despised by men.

FLORENCE KELLEY, 1858-1932

AS THE *Review* goes to press, word comes to us that Florence Kelley has fallen from our ranks. In every way she was a soldier who identified herself with the rank and file of the onward-moving host, dauntless in the face of many defeats, but determined to secure justice for those who (as a learned judge said long ago) "have no friends to see justice done." A great leader in the social reform movement for more than forty years, an early resident of Hull-House, the secretary of the National Consumers' League, a long-time resident of Henry Street Settlement in New York, a devoted worker in the National Conference of Social Work, the National Social Work Council, the American Association of Social Workers, and many social reform organizations, her loss is irreparable. The editors of the *Review* hope to follow this brief word with a more adequate statement about the debt of social workers to Florence Kelley in the succeeding number of the *Review*.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Problem of Unemployment. By PAUL H. DOUGLAS and AARON DIRECTOR. New York: Macmillan Co., 1931. Pp. xix+505. \$3.50.

This was not meant to be a popular book. As the Preface explains, this study is a preliminary survey of the field, to determine the advisability of a comprehensive investigation, such as a group of business men in New York and Philadelphia had suggested might be carried on at Swarthmore College. The aim of this exploratory study was

to analyze the vast amount of material which had been printed on the subject, to bring together fugitive reports of experiments in the regularization of employment in a hundred different industries, to summarize the experiences of other countries in the organization of employment exchanges and plans for unemployment insurance, and to organize all this material on the various aspects of the question in such a way as to indicate what are the most promising lines of inquiry and by what means definite results could best be reached.

The present volume is the report made by Professor Douglas and his assistant, Mr. Aaron Director, to the authorities of the college, with the result that a decision has been reached to undertake the larger investigation whenever funds become available. The main effort in the future study would be toward the pooling of economic theory and analysis, and the everyday experience of the business executive.

The book is divided into six parts, of which the first four deal with a measurement of unemployment, and with an analysis of seasonal, technological, and cyclical unemployment; and the last two, with the placement of labor and unemployment insurance.

An especially important chapter is given to the "human and economic costs of unemployment." We need to be reminded that a study of 300 families in New York, in the 1920-21 depression, disclosed a milk consumption cut in half. To this might have been added the findings of the Joint Congressional Commission of Agricultural Inquiry for the same period, with its figures of reduction in wheat and beef consumption for the country as a whole. The present study estimates the average annual wage loss from unemployment at 4.2 billion dollars, and the loss of this potential market is shown to be as large as that of our total export trade. As the authors elucidate this point:

If the workers were employed steadily, they would, with their increased earnings, buy more milk and fruit, live in better homes, send their children to school for longer periods, buy more electrical equipment to lighten the labor of their wives, and enjoy more recreation and outings. This would mean that the volume of sales in all these lines and others as well would increase. Manufacturers would be able to sell more of their products, and the turnover of the retail merchants would also increase. Overhead costs per unit would in consequence diminish and business profits would rise.

Technological unemployment has stalked into the worker's life as an ominous Frankenstein; into the employer's life equally portentously, because of his possible total loss of capital, from superseded machinery. Workers, in terror, are asking that the introduction of new inventions be penalized; employers, in many instances, are holding them back, out of humane consideration of the effects of displacement upon labor. Municipalities, whose citizens are groaning under taxation, are doing construction work with hand labor, at greatly increased expense, rather than use machines which would do the work more cheaply and more rapidly, but would give employment to fewer men. Bitterness against the machine, as the arch enemy of the working class, is not an inconsiderable echo of that panic of fear and despair in England in the early nineteenth century, which manifested itself in the pitiful effort to destroy the machine and eliminate it from industrial technique.

Having again established the thesis of economists that technological unemployment can never, of necessity, be permanent, the authors go on to discuss the severity of the temporary dislocation which can be laid at its door. The causes of the loss of time in readjustment are analyzed, and in the course of the discussion, the authors are forced to the conclusion that it is very doubtful whether it is wise for the manual worker to own his own home. Surely a dreary future presents itself to the worker, his wife and his children, if roots must never do more than cling to the outermost surface of community life, to be frequently pulled up.

The authors begin their discussion of public works as stabilizers by saying: "It is our opinion that current hopes are greatly exaggerated and that the possibilities of using public expenditures to smooth out the fluctuations of private industry are subject to serious limitations." An outline is given of experience with the use of public works to provide employment in England and Germany, with an analysis of the reasons for the unsatisfactory results. It is pointed out, however, that there is still a large body of opinion which holds that the defects in the application of public works can be overcome. Professor G. D. H. Cole is enthusiastic over his suggestion of a National Labor Corps; Governor Pinchot plans a permanent "Committee on Unemployment," with a full-time executive officer to prepare a six-year plan. Some of the obvious difficulties are selecting the stage in the down-swing of the cycle in which increased expenditure should be released, the recruiting of an efficient labor force (in the present depression, the City of Milwaukee has given physical examinations to the men so employed), the question of keeping the public funds from absorbing purchasing power which might otherwise go to stimulate private industry (for this reason, the issuing of bonds is preferred to taxation). Although the authors feel that some of the claims for public works must be deflated, they are optimistic as to the long-time effects:

Over a period of time, it is possible, through the use of public expenditures, to reduce somewhat the extreme fluctuations in employment. In the long run, however, we may expect more than this. We may actually expect a reduction in the average level of unemployment.

In the chapters on public employment officers and on unemployment insurance, experience abroad is given in detail. The desirable set-up of placement offices is outlined, even to the record system. If this detail seems to throw out of balance the broad discussion of the problem of unemployment, the terms of reference furnish the explanation, as the task assigned to Professor Douglas and Mr. Director included that of summarizing the "experience of other countries in the organization of employment exchanges and plans for unemployment insurance." This compilation is comprehensive and well organized, and as a familiar method of killing social legislation is to gain time by calling for "more facts," the authors have rendered a service in preparing these data in a form so clear and explicit. Moreover, the detail as to the most efficient set-up in the employment service and in the administration of unemployment insurance will be of great assistance not only in bill-drafting, but also in the later stage, in dealing with details of necessity left to administrative decision.

AMY G. MAHER

INFORMATION BUREAU OF WOMEN'S WORK
TOLEDO, OHIO

The Minnesota Unemployment Research Project (University of Minnesota Employment Stabilization Research, Vol. 1, No. 1). By RUSSELL A. STEVENSON. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1931. Pp. 26.

Instances of co-operation of city and university in joint and continuous studies of factors making for unemployment are fortunately increasing. Those who have watched with keen interest the project undertaken by the cities of Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Duluth conjointly with their state and with the University of Minnesota will be glad for this statement of the aims and scope of their plan. The program for investigation is divided into three parts; studies of the economic aspects of unemployment, of individual diagnosis and retraining, and of the development of public employment agencies.

Analysis of the economic aspects of unemployment includes study of the way in which industrial changes are affecting the volume and character of unemployment in the region, types of vocational guidance and training needed under modern industrial conditions, and changes in business organization and management required to stabilize conditions of employment. The second project includes testing various methods of diagnosing the vocational aptitudes of unemployed workers, providing a cross-section of the basic re-education problems of the unemployed, and demonstration of methods of re-education and industrial rehabilitation of workers dislodged by industrial changes. The third project makes the public employment office a laboratory or testing ground for certain of the techniques developed in the first two projects, recognizing their possibilities and utilizing them in a way scarcely dreamed in this country. In brief form the studies proposed under each of these three projects are indicated.

The co-operation of state and city governments and of large national foundations has been secured and is being utilized in a remarkable way in this brilliant undertaking.

MOLLIE RAY CARROLL

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Unemployment Insurance in Switzerland. The Ghent System Nationalized with Compulsory Features. By THOMAS G. SPATES and G. S. RABINOVITCH. New York: Industrial Relations Counselors, Inc., 1931. Pp. xii+276. \$3.00.

This third volume of the "Industrial Relations Counselors' Series" on unemployment insurance shows how Switzerland has developed a system of national insurance with the widest latitude to the constituent states. Prevented by the constitutional sovereignty of the twenty-five cantons and absence of constitutional provisions for such measures from imposing a compulsory federal law, the confederation in 1924 passed an act subsidizing trade union, joint employer and worker, and local public unemployment insurance schemes. These schemes had been developing for a quarter-century previous to the war and had been supplemented by local and national relief during the war-time and the five years thereafter.

The act of 1924 stimulated the development of the local and private insurance schemes and improved their performance and that of the employment exchanges, which served to test ability and desire for work. State legislation for compulsory unemployment insurance increased. The national insurance office established to authorize grant of subsidy maintains standards of designating the systems which conform with the requirements of the law.

From the inauguration of the act of 1924 to completion of their study, Switzerland has enjoyed comparative prosperity, so that the scheme was not subjected to the severe test of unemployment which the English and German systems experienced. The study is important as giving another possible method of compensating unemployment.

M. R. C.

Sozialversicherung und Reichshaushalt. Darstellung und Kritik. By HANS BÜRGER. Berlin: Carl Heymanns Verlag, 1930. Pp. 92. 5 Rm.

The first half of this study sets forth briefly the rising expenditures for German social insurance since stabilization and the heavy burden upon the national treasury of meeting the annual deficit. There follows a survey of the condition of the national treasury. That condition is so grave that the author believes that it is forcing upon the government a new era of budgetary planning.

The second part of the book analyzes the factors making for increased cost of social insurance and suggests remedies. The author points out that social insurance must reconcile two conflicting principles—the financial principle of scaling benefits according to premium payments and the social aim of determining

grants on the basis of need. He says that German social insurance as organized by Bismarck followed the former principle but that modifications in the direction of the second principle were introduced in grant of supplementary allowances to dependents and in increasing the percentual rate of benefits for the lower wage classes.

The recommendations for reform are pointed and practical. The author shows that the invalidity and old-age pensions are very modest, although they cost more than the insurance organizations can pay since these organizations lost their reserves at the time of inflation and there is an increasing group of pensioners for the active contributors to the funds to support. Similar changes in the relationship of premium payers to recipients of benefits and variations in costs introduced by change in benefits offered in the sickness insurance system are brought out. The author suggests increase in premium rates in certain instances and important administrative reforms. The book is timely and valuable.

M. R. C.

The Organization and Administration of Public Relief Agencies. By ROSE PORTER. New York: Family Welfare Association of America, 1931. Pp. 63. \$0.35.

Community Planning for Homeless Men and Boys. The Experience of Sixteen Cities in the Winter of 1930-31. By ROBERT S. WILSON. New York: Family Welfare Association of America, 1931. Pp. xiv+144. \$0.50.

These handbooks prepared at the request of the President's Organization on Unemployment Relief are a by-product of the present crisis, for which social workers and instructors in schools of social work will be grateful. The pressure of the present unemployment emergency upon public relief agencies, many of them quite unequipped for effective community service, led the National Unemployment Organization to ask the Family Welfare Association of America to prepare a "guidance report," summarizing the best current thought in the field of public relief. Miss Porter has done the work with the aid of the Association's Pathfinding Committee on Study of Governmental Relief Methods, several of whose members are also members of the American Association of Public Welfare Officials.

No attempt has been made to conduct first hand field studies—the time did not permit it—but the book is a discriminating exploration of the existing literature on the subject supplemented by consultations on practical experience. In the words of the introduction it attempts

to describe clearly, simply and briefly the chief elements that make for effectiveness in a public relief agency . . . the organization, the program of relief and service to families, its personnel, its methods of administration, its relationships to other agencies, its resources in seeking aid and advice, and the relation of its services to a program of education and prevention.

The material is so well selected and so clearly and simply presented that it cannot fail to be a boon to community leaders who are trying to reorganize ineffective public agencies to meet the present crisis.

Miss Porter does a great service in pointing out the fact that shortcomings in public welfare administration are due in most cases to weaknesses in organization and administration and to the tendency to follow habit and tradition, rather than to restrictions in the law itself. An interpretation of an old statute in accordance with modern needs and conditions is often more possible than it seems, and social plans need not wait on legislative changes.

The gospel of sound case work appears in almost every paragraph. It is so simply and clearly applied that a reader, no matter how new he may be to the field of social work, must conclude that without it all organization and administration is futile.

The Appendix contains a brief list of references for further reading, and some suggestive material in record forms.

The report on planning for homeless men and boys was obviously needed because of the increasing numbers of migratory and jobless workers moving from city to city, congregating in cheap lodging-houses and hotels and in free shelters. Sixteen different cities in various parts of the country were visited, and their programs for homeless men and boys were studied. The report for each city gives the history and background of the work undertaken for the homeless men group, an account of the administration of the plan, an appraisal of the work done, and an account of the plans for 1931-32 if any had been made.

Mr. Wilson points out very effectively that the thousands of homeless men—potential community assets—who pass through a shelter each year may or may not become community liabilities. This, he thinks, depends upon "the community's willingness to pay a sufficient salary to secure a staff commanding the respect of the community and possessing the necessary skill for their jobs." It is hoped that both of these reports will be widely used.

ELIZABETH S. DIXON

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Our Workhouse Million. By GEORGE F. BONSOR. London: Efficiency Magazine, 1931. Pp. 143. 5s.

Public Assistance. By GEOFFREY DRAGE. London: John Murray, 1930. Pp. xiv+396. 15s.

These two books both belong to the days of the old poor law tradition. The author of the first seems to have been a "relieving officer" in the poor law organization, and he describes himself as "a man on the inside who has had a long experience in the relief of destitution." He has a nineteenth-century view of the poor law as a relief-giving agency unrelated to modern case work methods.

The poor law, Mr. Bonsor thinks, is often abused, but this is because it is not quite perfect. "Like other human institutions, it has the same difficulty in parting the sheep from the goats, the industrious and deserving from the idle

and undeserving. But with all its failings, it does its job, which, first and last, is the relief of destitution." That is, relief is still something quite apart from other methods of social treatment.

He says he is one of the men who knows very little about the causes of trade depression but a great deal about the effects. That the British have a "workhouse million" in spite of old age pensions, health insurance, and unemployment insurance is a very significant fact. The British term "workhouse" corresponds, of course, to the American term "poorhouse."

Mr. Bonsor discusses the relation between unemployment and relief as organized in England after the war and the mistakes that he thinks were made. First, of course, he thinks "work relief" should have been given:

The condition that should have been attached to the grant of relief was work in return for the relief given. The men wanted work, and work without profit would have been infinitely better than relief without work. You cannot continue to maintain an able-bodied man and his family by unconditional grants from the public funds for any length of time without the man coming to look upon public assistance as the natural source for supplying the needs of himself and his family.

The demoralizing effects of unemployment are clearly set out:

The granting of unconditional relief to the able-bodied has been largely destructive, particularly as applied to young, single men. Work would have been their salvation; in idleness they have found nothing but desperation and despair.

It is interesting in the light of the insistence in some quarters on the virtue of local assistance that precisely this aspect of the English situation is criticized:

Actually, and in extenuation of our offence, is the fact that Boards of Guardians were left to solve their own local difficulties. No effort was made to deal with the problem on a national basis. It seemed as if we had expended all our power of organization in winning the war, and had nothing left for assisting the men who had something to do with winning it.

What is to be done? The writer devoted his closing chapter to this question:

The writer believes that in all probability we shall continue to meet the problem of unemployment with the existing machinery of Unemployment Insurance and Poor Law Relief. The average unemployed worker is neither a Crusader nor a Socialist. He is a rather unhappy individual whose strongest desire, in his own words, is to "get back into collar"—to obtain employment. He wants a well-paid job, if possible, but at all hazards—a job of some sort.

As an effort to correct what he thinks are the mistakes of the last decade, the writer quotes the Relief Regulation Order of 1930, which governs the present administration of relief. This Order requires the County Councils, which have taken over the functions of the old Poor Law Guardians,

to formulate such arrangements as may be practicable in their areas, for setting to work male persons who are capable of work to whom out-relief is afforded, and for training and instructing such men in some suitable form of useful work, and for their attendance at suitable classes of physical training, or of an educational character suitable to the age, physical capacity and intelligence of the several classes of able-bodied men, to whom the arrangements are intended to apply.

This story of the 1,700,000 people who live "below the Dole—on the work-house level" is an interesting setting-out of the differences between American and English standards. The type of man who held the position of "relieving officer" under the poor law is not often found in social work in this country. His rough and ready detective work, his rather vigorous determination to find and expose the occasional fraudulent applicant, his opposition to women. (He would like all poor law committees who have anything to do with caring for able-bodied men composed entirely of men. Able-bodied unemployed men of course do not have wives and children!)

Mr. Geoffrey Drage also represents the nineteenth-century view of poor law services. Mr. Drage thinks that 1930 marked an epoch in the history of public assistance in England with the passing of the Chamberlain Act. This book is a collection of miscellaneous fugitive material contributed by Mr. Drage before 1930 to periodical literature or to the *London Times* in the form of letters. All this material is brought together as reflecting a continuous point of view and a long struggle on the part of the London Charity Organisation Society, with which Mr. Drage is identified, to maintain what is called "economy and efficiency in the sphere of public assistance." To American readers it seems to be a long drawn out attack on all the modern forms of social insurance and a belief that the old deterrent poor law methods should be preserved. The point of view of these letters seems quite alien to American thinking with regard to modern social policies. But in any event Mr. Drage is right in thinking that it was wise to bring this material together, for whether one agrees with Mr. Drage or not, his letters constitute an effective setting-out of the attitude of an influential group in England with regard to the adoption of modern methods of preventing destitution as a substitute for poor relief.

EDITH ABBOTT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Scientific Basis of Social Work—a Study in Family Case Work. By MAURICE J. KARPF. New York: Columbia University Press, 1931. Pp. xviii+424. \$3.75.

The Training of Social Workers. By JAMES EDWARD HAGERTY. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1931. Pp. viii+205. \$2.50.

Interviews, Interviewers and Interviewing in Social Case Work. New York: Family Welfare Association of America, 1931. Pp. 132. \$1.00.

Dr. Karpf's book and Dr. Hagerty's are concerned primarily with problems of training for social work. The first question of what knowledge do social workers need, is summarized by Dr. Karpf as the "need for a knowledge of backgrounds; the need for a philosophy of life and point of view; the need for knowledge of human nature; the need for a knowledge of norms and the need for clarity and accuracy of thought." He believes strongly that the most important part of the training of a social worker lies in the fields of social, biological, and psychological sciences.

Dr. Hagerty shares this viewpoint but arrives at his conclusion by a different method than that used by Dr. Karpf. After giving a definition and brief history of social work, he states the need for it and describes its scope. Then he presents an analysis of the number of semester hours of sociology, economics, political science, and biology taken by 600 women graduates of Ohio Wesleyan, Ohio University, Otterbein College, Wittenberg College, Denison University, and Ohio State University. We have only the author's statement that these colleges "are fairly representative of those throughout the country from which students enter the schools of social work." On this evidence, the conclusion is reached that those entering schools of social work are inadequately trained in the social sciences.

Dr. Karpf has asked a second question, "What knowledge do social workers use?" His answer was secured by a study of the case records contained in Breckinridge's *Family Welfare Work in a Metropolitan Community* and of two groups of unedited case records, sixty each, from two different case working agencies. The findings from this study of case records did not indicate that social workers use a knowledge of sciences, either social or biological, in their work. A possible explanation is that "case records are not truly indicative of the knowledge case workers have" or that neither professional school nor executives require workers to possess such knowledge.

The author's analysis of family case work records classifies the case workers' judgments on personality and personality traits; on health and disease and on standards of living. The author believes that social workers have made inadequate use of such studies as Hartshorne and May's methods of studying character and that the random judgments on character and personality in these case records are unreliable. Of course, the records in the Breckinridge volume were written before Hartshorne and May's works were published but it is possible that the authors of the other two groups of records studied should have made use of these findings.

The recommendation is made that social workers must be given a better medical education so they can "evaluate a given program of medical therapy in relation to the social and psychological effects it is likely to have on the patient and his family." The comments on standards of living in the case records did not indicate a knowledge of rating scales for homes such as the Whittier scale.

The final chapter in Section II discusses methods of control used by case workers which were found in the following order of frequency: "(1) explanation; (2) discussion and persuasion; (3) ordering and threatening; (4) advice; and (5) suggestion." Mr. Karpf summarizes the case record study with the conclusion that "more than three-fourths of the judgments, opinions, advice, and action of case workers with respect to their clients involve, if they do not actually require, a knowledge of human nature, and the principles of social behavior." He believes such knowledge can come only from the social sciences. The knowledge needed regarding standards of living and health constitute the remaining 25 per cent of the basic equipment of a social worker and are to be secured from home economics and the biological sciences.

The answer to the third question as to the knowledge social workers receive was secured from an analysis of the admission requirements and curricula of schools of social work. The three phases in preparation for any profession are stated as general knowledge and discipline which is acquired in the preprofessional education; specifically technical knowledge which is given during the professional training; and "the skill in the use of this knowledge in the solution of the problems which the practitioner faces." The skill is, of course, secured in practice work and experience.

Mr. Karpf believes that the amount of time spent on field work in many schools is disproportionate to classroom work and stresses the trade aspect too much. He suggests that the time for field work should not be more than a medical student spends in clinics and, by implication, suggests that field work for a social-work student might better come in a year of internship after leaving school. Dr. Hagerty believes that the field work should be concentrated in one quarter of the training but he believes such concentration may come during the undergraduate course. Both authors agree the student should have training in social research but Mr. Karpf finds that the opportunities for such training are inadequate in most schools.

Mr. Karpf believes that the possibility of social work attaining a professional basis is dependent on three conditions:

(1) The most accurate possible knowledge and skill for the understanding and control of human behavior and social organization; (2) resources, financial and organizational, for effective supplementation of this knowledge and skill; (3) a favorable public opinion which will have faith in the social worker's skill and make possible its effective use by giving the social worker that recognition, approval, and support which it has given some of the other professions.

To achieve these ends, social work is dependent upon the educational institutions, social workers and social agencies, and the public. The schools might insist on a knowledge of social and biological science as an entrance requirement, the social workers themselves can assist the social theorists in discovering ways of controlling human behavior, and agencies can insist on higher qualifications in engaging new staff members. The public will have "to be shown."

Social work is deeply indebted to Mr. Karpf for such a careful piece of research as appears in this book. We should most of us agree that a knowledge of the social and biological sciences is valuable in the education of the social worker but we should like to have someone write another book like the author's, showing the additional values to be derived from the so-called cultural subjects of history, literature and composition, speech, and art.

Fifteen articles on interviewing previously printed in *The Family* have been assembled in pamphlet form. As a companion volume to the pamphlet on *Interviews* published by the American Association of Social Workers, this collection of articles is especially timely. In emergency times when even more serious consequences may follow the single interview with a client, it is important for so-

cial workers to have in mind the best which has been found out about interviewing. Case workers would do well to re-read these articles in their present form.

Mr. Lee's article points out some principles of successful interviewing—"such as beginning with the client's main interest, the necessity for lapse of time, not assuming authority until your authority is recognized, respect for personality, releasing of the client's own capacity through giving him an opportunity to develop his own ideas."

Miss Wright suggests five "ways of increasing skill in individualizing":

(1) By flexible imagination; (2) by being "non-shockable," keeping a light touch; (3) by working steadily through the positive, that is, by finding and building on the strength rather than on the weaknesses of human nature; (4) by seeking skill in using the forces of expertness and authority, rather than relying on the whip hand; and (5) by developing a capacity to learn out of failures, evaluating them with one's self and the client.

MILDRED D. MUDGETT

MINNEAPOLIS COUNCIL OF SOCIAL AGENCIES

Mexico, a Study of Two Americas. By STUART CHASE. New York: Macmillan Co., 1931. Pp. vii+338. \$3.00.

Not long ago, while talking with Diego Rivera, I happened to praise the work of another Mexican artist. "Oh, yes," answered the great man, "So-and-so's work is very good. It ought to be. It's half mine and half Orozco's!"

This remark came to my mind as I read Stuart Chase's *Mexico*. In Hollywood, I understand, it is the work of one editor to scrutinize manuscripts for any passages that might puzzle the audience. This process is called "dumbing it up." Stuart Chase has taken Redfield's *Tepoztlán* and dumbed it up for popular consumption. If one were to remove what Chase has borrowed from Redfield, Gamio, and others, hardly anything would remain but a few loose generalizations. Such a book may have its place, but it is profoundly irritating to a scholar.

The treatment of modern Mexico in Chase's book is fairly satisfactory. It ought to be. He has used the work of the best scholars we have on the subject. The historical background, however, which includes the first six chapters, contains a number of statements that should not go unchallenged. Some of them may seem trivial, but they serve to illustrate the careless and cock-sure style of the whole book.

Chase speaks of the population of Mexico as consisting of "Indians, a reasonable number of *mestizos*—half and quarter breeds, most of them living like Indians—and a few whites in the cities" (p. 5). Ernest Gruening, in his *Mexico and Its Heritage* (p. 69), gives the population for 1910 as 1,150,000 whites, 6,000,000 pure Indians, and 8,000,000 *mestizos*. Chase is trying to establish the thesis that Mexico is Indian and that it is going to stay Indian. It would be just as easy to assume that the Indians started turning white in 1519 and are still struggling to turn white, the final result being a *mestizo* or Mexican race.

The first white man climbed Popocatepetl in 1519. "The next ascent," affirms Mr. Chase, "was three centuries later, in 1827. . . . These figures are not without significance. The Spaniards who followed Cortez and his immortal 600 were of a less hardy breed" (p. 21). This is sheer poppycock. In the first place, we do not know how many Spaniards climbed Popo in those centuries; in the second, even if none of them ever did, the conclusion is just as absurd. The history of New Spain is full of episodes which, if less spectacular than the Cortez expedition, are no whit less admirable in the courage, endurance, and determination displayed by the participants. The expeditions to New Mexico, Texas, Arizona, and California during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are cases in point.

Once more (p. 48) we meet the old story of the destruction of the vast Aztec library at Texcoco by Bishop Zumarraga. Garcia Icazbalceta, one of the most meticulous of modern historians, in his *Vida de Don Fray Juan de Zumárraga*, shows that the legend dates from the eighteenth century.

"Slavery was practised, but in a mild form" (p. 51). This statement is substantially true. At the same time it should not be forgotten that the slaves were frequently destined for the sacrificial stone. One of the things the Spaniards did in every town they entered was to break open the wooden cages where such slaves were kept.

Speaking of the number of victims offered for sacrifice, Chase presumes that the early chroniclers probably exaggerated, a presumption that may very well be correct, but his explanation is again challengeable. He says that

the Church had reason for wide dissemination of atrocity stories. It sought to stamp out the Aztec religion and substitute Christianity. The greater the case against the heathen cult, the more freedom it had to use any means to the desired end, and the weaker the criticism thereof. This was the period, too, of the Inquisition, when off-setting butcheries were particularly welcome [p. 52].

This thesis is untenable. The Church had no reason to attempt a justification of the conversion of the Mexicans, who, by the way, were not converted by force. Justification with whom? The Protestant movement had hardly been born at the time of the conquest. And then, why bring in the Inquisition? The Inquisition had nothing to do with the Indians, or their conversion, or their backsliding, except in one instance, the trial for idolatry of the *cacique* of Texcoco, in 1530.

Chase quite rightly draws heavily on Bernal Diaz for the story of the conquest. He should have relied upon him still more and he would have learned that Diego Velasquez did not rescue Cortez "from obscurity" (p. 59). Nor was Grijalva the "logical candidate" for leading the expedition to Mexico. With Grijalva at its head, the expedition would assuredly have turned round and gone home from Vera Cruz. Bernal Diaz is very clear on this point, as well as on the sinking of the ships. They were not burned. Chase has it that Cortez "gave secret orders to a few dependable men, and while the little army looked on in

horror, its ships went up in flames!" (p. 68). Bernal Diaz, who, it must be remembered, was there and was one of Cortez' supporters, says that the sinking was performed with the consent and at the behest of the Cortez men, including Diaz himself. By that act Cortez gained a force of a hundred sailors and prevented the disgruntled Velasquez men from deserting and going back to Cuba. Bernal Diaz is also clear on what Chase calls the "butchery" at Cholula of "2000 disarmed warriors" (p. 72). This bloody deed is one of the many proofs of Cortez' military genius. He had discovered a plot among the Cholultecas to slaughter every Spaniard. It was only by such harsh measures that Cortez ever saved his tiny band from annihilation. Pathetic, of course, but necessary.

Again, "they [the Spaniards] never had one respectable fight with the Aztecs" (p. 75). What is a respectable fight, anyway? In the terrific retreat from Mexico in 1520 Cortez fought continually for three days, losing two-thirds of his men, all his guns, most of his horses, and not a man escaped wounding. Then, with less than 500 men, he faced about, laid siege to the city, built a navy for operations on the lakes, and in another year had completely broken the Aztec power.

It seems a bit gratuitous to assume that great conquerors, such as "Alexander, Napoleon, von Hindenburg," and, presumably, Cortez, "too often plunge the race backward in its slow ascent" (p. 77). If there were not something rotten in most races, as in the Aztec race at the time of the conquest, they could not so easily be "plunged backward." Then, we do not know that they are plunged backward. One may sentimentalize over the dear, dead days, but the fact remains that we simply do not know the answer to such questions.

The same holds for the "Decline of Mexican Civilization," in two chapters. Certainly the colonial period was full of brutalities, but there were compensations—peace, for one thing, as Mr. Chase admits. Thomas Gage, who spent twelve years here early in the seventeenth century, tried his best to make the Spaniards out to be a set of monsters—Gage turned Protestant upon returning to England—but the net impression that one derives from his delightful book is that Mexico was very nearly a paradise, even for the natives. And I must quarrel with the assumption that only some thirteen of the viceroys were "decent men" (p. 107). The viceroys were part of a world-wide system for the exploitation of colonies. They had to deliver the goods. I suggest that, by and large, the viceroys of New Spain were able and conscientious administrators and that several of them approached greatness.

Perhaps the greatest of them was Antonio de Mendoza, who was a wise, just, and humane ruler. At the end of his long and arduous administration he wrote to his successor: "After sixteen years in this government . . . I could swear that I am more confused about them [the Indians] than at the beginning." This should be a warning to foreigners who come to Mexico to write it up.

This is an ill-natured review, but the ill-nature does not extend to the superb illustrations by Diego Rivera, which alone should suffice to save the book from mediocrity.

LESLEY BYRD SIMPSON

MEXICO CITY

The Mexican Immigrant: His Life-Story. By MANUEL GAMIO. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931. Pp. xiii+288. \$3.00.

In this volume, a companion to *Mexican Immigration to the United States* by the same author, Dr. Gamio presents interviews with seventy-five Mexicans, all immigrants except four, who are natives of the United States. In these accounts the immigrant appears in the flesh, telling in his own words his comings and goings, his doings, his relations with his new environment in their variety and contradiction. There are those who emigrated because of revolutionary disturbances, for adventure, or for the "good money that can be made." There is the characteristic restless movement from place to place in the states, and from job to job. Some of the immigrants, when interviewed, were on their way back to Mexico to join agricultural colonies; some had returned to Mexico, were disillusioned, and came back to the states—"I found everything different, very dull, and very changed. I no longer wished to stay there, but to return to Dallas"—and some were hoping to go to Mexico "when there is peace."

There are complaints from some against foremen, or the lack of police protection, etc., and there is concern over economic insecurity and the ingratitude of the gringo: "I have left the best of my life and my strength here, sprinkling with the sweat of my brow the fields and the factories of these gringos, who only know how to make one sweat and don't even pay any attention to one when they see that one is old." "They squeeze one here until one is left useless, and then one has to go back to Mexico to be a burden to one's countrymen." Others, who like the treatment they have received, say in the characteristic language of one of them, "the Mexican is well treated in this country, or rather, is treated according to the place which each one demands, for . . . if one is submissive, or isn't wide-awake or doesn't do his work properly, one is very badly treated. . . ."

Naturally, there is protest against "some hateful distinctions" made notably "in Texas and in California"; these are bitterly resented by many, as for example, by one Mexican told, in Amarillo, Texas, to eat where Negroes were served: "I told my friend that I would rather die from starvation than to humiliate myself before the Americans by eating with the Negroes." Yet at the same time an Indian-type Mexican in Los Angeles could acclaim the democracy which he found: "I like this country very much . . . for the equality which is granted to everyone. . . . You can go into any restaurant or any theatre and seat yourself by the side of the rich. It isn't like in Mexico where some feel themselves to be aristocrats and they feel themselves to be humiliated if some poor man sits down beside them. No, Sir! The United States is different."

The greater freedom of American women is nearly always distasteful to the Mexican men: "I like everything about this country. . . . The only thing I don't like . . . is the way the women carry on, so that they are the ones who boss the men and I think that he who lets himself be bossed by a woman isn't a man." Women, however, enjoy the relaxation of familiar codes of conduct.

Weakening of religious belief is general: "In Mexico I was more Catholic than here, but there is more religion there, more churches, and, above all, fewer things to do." Some Mexican immigrants accept Protestantism, or rarely, advance toward atheism, like the man who associated with the I.W.W., who said, "I am studying many books and I now lack very little of being well convinced that God doesn't exist."

Patriotism, unlike religion, is strengthened by emigration, at least while the immigrant is abroad. Usually American citizenship is abhorred as "denial of one's mother." One immigrant goes even so far as to say that "it doesn't matter how much good will there is, for at bottom we hate each other"; and another is ready to fight the United States upon occasion. A third, on the contrary, is prepared to make a good bargain, and sell Lower California to the United States, while one or two even contemplate citizen's papers. The Mexican-American is torn between loyalties of ancestry and citizenship. In recognition of the slowness of their assimilation one says, "I would rather be a prisoner than go to fight against the country from which my fathers came. We are all Mexicans anyway because the *gueros* always treat all of us alike." But another "is an adorer of the United States, and says that in case of war between the two countries he would go to fight on the side of the United States. . . ."

These personal documents do not present the migration in its entirety, but they are a valuable contribution to its understanding. Especially they will give insight into the cultural background, experiences, and reactions of Mexican migrants to those Americans who work among them.

The interpretative notes have been written by Dr. Robert Redfield with judgment and skill. The interviewers and the translator have retained to a high degree the flavor of the original utterance.

PAUL S. TAYLOR

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

An Ethnic Survey of Woonsocket, R.I. By BESSIE BLOOM WESSEL. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931. Pp. xxi+290. \$4.00.

This is one of a series of studies each concerned with the ethnic composition of a single American community. It describes in detail the methods used in making the study, and for that reason will be of interest to anyone who has occasion to try to ascertain the national or racial origin of any group.

The findings are, for the most part, of local interest only. More general interest perhaps attaches to the differences found between groups in the rate of intermarriage and the groups between which intermarriages take place. The findings here, however, merely confirm general less accurate observation and hence are not likely to be disturbing. Attention should be called to the author's use of the word "preference" with regard to marriages. Is it right to say that "the British are most frequently *preferred* as mates by the Irish" simply because the Irish marry more frequently into the British than into other groups? This

illustrates, too, one of the dangers of a study which concentrates solely on a single factor. The implication is, even in spite of a word or two of warning by the author, that it is this factor which is solely or chiefly significant. But in accounting for marriage of Irish to British rather than to Italians, it surely would be necessary to consider economic factors.

HELEN R. WRIGHT

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Criminal Justice in England. A Study in Law Administration. By PENDLETON HOWARD. New York: Macmillan Co., 1931. Pp. 436. \$3.00.

Our Lawless Police. A Study of the Unlawful Enforcement of the Law. By ERNEST JEROME HOPKINS. Foreword by ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, JR. New York: The Viking Press, 1931. Pp. xiii+379. \$3.00.

In these two useful volumes certain aspects of the English and the American systems of criminal justice are clearly set in relief one against the other.

Dr. Howard's report is no "survey"; it is a study and a simple, amazingly comprehensive account of the things that happen when a man in England is accused of having committed a crime, together with a discussion of the significance to the English community of what happens to the accused.

The English study is interesting for what it omits as well as for what it contains. There is no discussion of the causes of crime, the meaning of punishment, such special developments, either for diagnosis or for treatment, as the use of the psychiatric clinic or probation or the juvenile court movement. In England, at any rate, the judicial system may, evidently, in view of the author, be taken for granted for some time to come.

There are many reasons why the study has interest for social workers. There are few problems more baffling to the social worker than the relation of the police to the whole subject of law enforcement. There are few social workers who have not had to deal with wreckage resulting from police corruption or stupidity; and many social workers are tempted in their moments of deliberation to condemn the police as stupid or corrupt or brutal or all three. The handling of children in conflict with the law, the dealing with young adults, whether boys or young women, has seemed safe only in the hands of specialized divisions of the court; and the political features of the prosecutor's work with its identification of numbers of convictions with efficiency has given rise to the practically universal demand for the public defender.

Dr. Howard describes the entire procedure and the organization in an interesting and complete study; but he dwells especially on certain civil, as distinguished from criminal, features that in England characterize what he terms the "private prosecution." This discussion and that of the exercise of summary jurisdiction, in which the jury is progressively dispensed with, and the trial had

by the court alone, with perhaps the careful comparison of the English accusatorial with the continental inquisitorial systems, are perhaps the most interesting portions of the discussion.

Dr. Howard makes it impossible for the reader to forget the chaotic state of American practice and suggests the innumerable advantages of the services rendered by the national executives or by those practitioners, whether as judge or prosecutor, who belong to the national, as distinguished from the local, judicial organization. Those who believe that the general public should know how their most important business is actually conducted will feel deeply indebted to Dr. Howard. For, to social workers, no public business can perhaps be more important than that of dealing with individuals whose misfortune or misconduct bring them into conflict with the law.

The author of the second volume who was the special field investigator for the Wickersham Commission in their study of the "Third Degree," makes available in convenient and accessible form material likewise contained in the report of the Commission on *Lawlessness in Law Enforcement*. Mr. Hopkins also reported for responsible journals the I.W.W. riots in San Diego in 1911, the Bread Riot in San Quentin in 1913, the Preparedness Day bomb explosion in San Francisco in 1916, out of which grew the Mooney-Billings Case. He has had a long experience that justifies confidence in his judgment and accuracy, and Professor Chafee of the Harvard Law Faculty speaks of his "notable skill and enterprise in breaking through the barriers of silence which surround official lawlessness." All of this is important because the undertaking to make known how lawless are those whose business it is to administer and enforce the law is a dangerous undertaking. It is true that many have been tempted unjustly to characterize all police as brutal, lawless, and open to corrupt influences. But Professor Chafee and Mr. Hopkins remind the reader that the system and not the individual is the object of the attack. The importance of making the facts known is indicated by Mr. Monte M. Lemann, one of Mr. Wickersham's Commission, who said, "The abuses of the third degree must find their restraint chiefly in the force of awakened public opinion, since no new laws could make them more illegal than they are."

Of course, the student of legal history, in reading all these comments and reviewing these cruel incidents so familiar to those who frequent inferior criminal courts or who live in crowded urban neighborhoods, is often struck with the conflict still being waged between the ancient ideal of private vengeance and the less ancient but outworn doctrine of public punishment. The social worker and the open-minded student of public institutions and agencies know that the great battle is to be won against both those principles. Mr. Hopkins makes vivid the universality of one of our public failures and gives some idea of the resulting cost in individual suffering and in community waste.

S. P. BRECKINRIDGE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

- ✓ *Prisons of Tomorrow* ("Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science," Vol. CLVII, September, 1931). Philadelphia: 1931. Pp. iii+262. \$2.50 (cloth); \$2.00 (paper).

The *Annals of the American Academy* can always be looked to for a sound contribution to current information and current thinking on any subject that its editorial staff elects to consider. The September number, dealing with "Prisons of Tomorrow," under the editorial direction of Professors Edwin H. Sutherland and Thorsten Sellin is no exception to the general rule. The volume brings together a great amount of material relating chiefly to the American prison situation and its historical background, and in addition brings to us authoritative presentations of the situations in English, German, Belgian, Scandinavian, Italian, and Mexican prisons.) The *Annals*, in the scientific and social fields, makes its concession to the reading habits of the American public, which prefers to read articles on different phases of a given subject rather than undertake the subject in extended book form.

One is surprised to note throughout the publication almost no reference to women's prisons, in which so much experimentation has been done in years past and which have stimulated undertakings, similar in nature, in prisons for men. Perhaps this omission is due to the relatively small number of women's prisons and reformatories, and to the fact that they do not today constitute in any sense the acute problem which is found in prisons and reformatories for men.

Doctor Sellin's brief historical background of our American prisons and the survey of the present situation by Mr. Cass serve to bring the reader up to date. "Prison Architecture," by Robert L. Davison, emphasizes a much needed change in the approach to the planning for new prisons, and, if followed through, would undoubtedly result in enormous savings to the taxpayers. The discussion of "Public Control and Supervision of Prisons," by William J. Ellis and Sanford Bates, is illuminating; and the statement of Mr. Ellis that "this rehabilitation of the prisoner is possible only when the control of the prisons and reformatories is in the hands of a stable group, uninfluenced by party or political factions, and with a knowledge, based on training and experience, of the purpose of the imprisonment," cannot be contradicted.

"The Prison Staff," "Prison Labor," "Prison as a Socializing Agency," are all subjects dealt with constructively by the various writers. Nor is the problem of the man leaving prison and his needs neglected in the discussion of "The Open Door" by Clair Wilcox and the "Discharged Prisoner" by B. L. Scott. Dr. George W. Kirchwey's discussion of "The Prison's Place in the Penal System" is, of course, delightful, as is always the case with his contributions whether he speaks or writes.

One welcomes the article of Edwin H. Sutherland on "The Prison as a Criminological Laboratory." He states in the conclusion:

The program as outlined for the future, therefore, consists of a competent staff who will regard the entire prison as an experiment and will utilize their knowledge of the

prisoners for purposes of directing this experiment. The scientific specialists will play a part in this institution—not, at least at first, by making routine studies of all prisoners, but by assisting the regular staff when intensive studies of difficult or crucial cases are desired, and by studies designed to contribute to the generalized knowledge of criminality.

He indicates also that from adequate study knowledge may be accumulated as to the ways in which criminal habits are formed, and this in turn will contribute to broader programs for the prevention of crime.

To those who are dealing with the end results in the prisons, the article by Nathaniel F. Cantor on "The Prisoner and the Law" is illuminating. One is, of course, interested in the article by an anonymous contributor entitled, "The Prisoner Speaks." It is inevitable and understandable that he cannot treat the subject without emotion and that in consequence his generalizations are too sweeping. The discussion of the "Attitude of Prisoners as a Factor in Rehabilitation" brings out facts which are of great importance in any program in a correctional institution.

The brief guide to penological literature is valuable.

ELLEN C. POTTER

NEW JERSEY DEPARTMENT INSTITUTIONS AND AGENCIES
TRENTON

Parole

- ✓ *Prediction Methods and Parole. A Study of Factors Involved in the Violation or Non-Violation of Parole in a Group of Minnesota Adult Males.*
By GEORGE B. VOLD. Hanover, New Hampshire: Sociological Press,
1931. Pp. xvi+138.

(Realizing the need of non-subjective guides in determining when a prisoner is ready for extra-mural supervision, Professor Vold of the University of Minnesota has applied the methods of Burgess and Glueck to a group of Minnesota parolees. By this effort he hopes to clarify the procedure of constructing prediction tables and to test their validity.

Minnesota's Parole Board consists of the three superintendents of penal institutions, the chairman of the Board of Control, and a lay member, only three of whom—the managing officer of the institution of confinement and the last two named—have voting power in a particular instance. As in other states, the Board is under no legal compulsion to hear outside evidence but may do so at its discretion, by correspondence or otherwise. Apparently the main basis of its judgment is the history of the prisoner, given in part by him at time of entrance and later verified, although the method of check is not given.

Professor Vold feels that former parole studies based on institution records suffer from the serious error that parolees are difficult persons to trace and that non-violation (of parole) is not synonymous with law observance and non-criminality. This is amply proved by the Gluecks. Earlier attempts of Warner,

Hart, Burgess, and the Gluecks to evolve a prediction method for use by parole boards are summarized; and the present study is, in reality, an attempt to improve upon the efforts of Burgess and the Gluecks and applies the methods of both, as well as one of the author's, to twelve hundred paroles from the Stillwater Prison and the St. Cloud Reformatory.

Out of the mass of detail presented in building a case for his method, he finds:

1. No factor on which the record contains information appears to be of outstanding importance in connection with the violation or non-violation of parole. . . .
2. . . . while no factor is of outstanding importance, yet few, if any, are of no significance. Tables XII and XIII suggest that most of the factors have a relationship to outcome on parole that cannot be accounted for entirely by chance.
3. There is nothing to justify the belief that most of the violations of parole occur shortly after release from the institution. . . . [p. 57].

By a detailed statistical explanation, he points out that while the information derived from official records offers many possibilities for error, particularly in re-classification, yet "in the case of all categories (on which reliability results are available), the consistency or reliability results on re-classification are considerably greater than can be accounted for by 'chance'" (p. 82).

From his tables Vold concludes that the most satisfactory prediction tables are secured from the use of twenty-five selected factors in which information is completely available and the least satisfactory from the seventeen lowest pre-parole factors. The use of such prediction tables by a Parole Board would make, so Vold feels, for a more scientific policy.

With the rate of parole violation known in advance and subject to control, the Parole Board might well adopt an experimental policy. If it were deemed wise, the Board could, with relative ease, so select the group paroled that there would be practically no violation. The "violation rate" would then be decreased but it is also likely that the number placed on parole would be smaller. On the other hand, if the Board desired, it could parole a much larger proportion of the inmates than at present and knowingly accept the risk of higher violation rates. . . . By providing special supervision for those whose "chances" of violation are high, it might be possible to parole a larger proportion of inmates than at present and still keep the violation rate at a low figure.

There is no reason why a "prediction technique comparable to that discussed in this study should not be applied to many other fields of activity," among them, to offenders awaiting trial. He argues for the general validity of the principle of risks in connection with human beings. At the same time Vold feels that the final determinant of the validity of such a table would be a pragmatic test.

The Gluecks illustrate with considerable care—and at great expense—the difference between the use of official records at face value and the totally dissimilar picture presented after verification. To this contribution they add a painstaking objectivity (and definitions) of such factors as steady work, good home, moderate drinking, etc. Vold points out that official data are not complete nor wholly accurate, yet infers, and passes by with no comment or objec-

tion, that this source of error is not to be considered of sufficient moment to invalidate results obtained from the use of official data. With due regard for the present volume and its careful analyses of previous efforts and its attempt to improve prior studies, it is believed that it carries the same basic objection and source of great probable error in accepting, without verification, any official record. If the fundamental source of facts relative to violation of parole and non-violation is subject to a serious question of validity, it follows that the results derived may be similarly and justifiably criticized. And the same for the prediction tables and the factors which Vold holds to be cumulatively related to success on parole. The final word, as the volume suggests, will be had by workability and the test of time. To this is added, by data secured from objective sources, independently verified, and qualified by measurements which are universal. Such is a project that one of the larger foundations may well undertake on a long-term basis.

W. ABRAHAM GOLDBERG

JEWISH SOCIAL SERVICE BUREAU
CHICAGO

BRIEF NOTICES

The Wesleyan Movement in the Industrial Revolution. By WELLMAN J. WARNER.
New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1930. Pp. x+299. \$5.00.

Dr. Warner sees the Wesleyan contribution to the social order as part of the humanitarian movement of the eighteenth century in its larger background—economic and political. The typical attitude of the "governing classes" of England toward the great mass of people, he sees, in part, rooted in a "national system of economics built upon the exploitation of labor." The extension of the field of economic opportunity was one of the "prime conditions of this development of any humanitarian system of values in the eighteenth century." The two introductory chapters deal, therefore, with the subject of "social values and the common man" from the Revolution of 1688 to the French Revolution and with the changes that made possible "the emergence of the individual" in the eighteenth century, such as the development of economic freedom and the "diminishing sense of insecurity."

Social workers will find the entire discussion thought-provoking and readable; but they will be especially interested in the chapter dealing with the Wesleyan philanthropy—relief, the establishment of a dispensary for the care of the sick, prison reform, work for the workless, anti-slavery, education. The followers of Wesley produced a new democracy with a new social attitude toward the despairing masses of poor so often considered a community burden. "Give none that asks relief either an ill word and or an ill look" was the Wesleyan philosophy. And Wesleyan philanthropy involved "personal and not organized action." Dr. Warner calls attention to this point as an interesting one: "A great social movement which owed its existence to efficient organization . . . creates an unparalleled philanthropic disposition and permits it to dissipate through lack of organization."

This record of the "great equalitarian mood of social helpfulness" is worthy of careful study.

On Understanding Women. By MARY R. BEARD. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1931. Pp. viii+541. \$3.50.

Mrs. Beard has undertaken an extremely difficult and interesting task for which she was admirably qualified. At a moment when women are conscious of a recurrence of earlier antagonisms in the field of employment, Mrs. Beard reminds them that discriminations under which they labor and hardships from which they suffer are not novel but belong to a society not fully civilized; that the benefits of that society can be fully enjoyed only when shared by both men and women. She recalls the researches of earlier anthropologists, showing that the first arts of domestic life are women's invention, but she is more concerned with recalling the contribution of women to the culture of the time than explaining why the making of that contribution is so often rendered difficult and the value of the contribution misrepresented or ignored. On that account, probably, too, she ignores the Vaërttings (brother and sister) in their discussion in *The Dominant Sex* of the effect of power on the attitude of a sex or a group bound by any common sense of superiority.

Mrs. Beard's opening chapter with its explanation of the necessity for such a treatise is illuminating and amusing, and illustrates the danger of complacent self-confidence in any field of thought.

Her thesis, substantiated by a great body of evidence, is the same as that contained in Mason's *Woman's Share in Primitive Culture*, except that it applies to all the arts essential to the life and well-being of the group, including war and state craft. In all the periods of human experience, women have felt and exercised "responsibility for the continuance and care of life"; but sex is only a segment of women's life, far less important than the collaterals issuing from it in connection with the care of life once created. That is, women have been inventors as well as wives, and their inventions have issued in the production of those sources of satisfactions that are not the prime concern of man and, so often, of the state. It is hoped that women take the moral to heart whether or not the men fail to recognize the implication of the record.

The Lady of Godey's: Sarah Josepha Hale. By RUTH E. FINLEY. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1931. Pp. 318. \$3.50.

In this charming volume adorned with nine reproductions in color and twenty-four illustrations is narrated the history of the woman who, left a widow with four young children, became the editor of one of the most influential periodicals yet published in the United States. Through this medium, for a period of forty years, she guided the thinking of thousands of women and influenced the attitudes of thousands of men. It was the book of fashion, but it was far more; and through its columns the editor advocated causes that make her a figure of interest to students of social reform and social work in the United States. She was responsible for raising over \$30,000 to complete the long-neglected Bunker Hill Monument, and for rescuing the movement to preserve Mount Vernon as a National Memorial, a memorial which should now be nationalized by being made the property of the federal government. She also took the leadership in the movement for sending out the first women medical missionaries, advocating elementary education for girls equal to that of boys, supporting the cause of higher education of women, and advocating the employment of women teachers in public schools. She was responsible for founding a society for the improvement of working conditions of women and

showing the need for an increase in their wages. She demanded for married women the right to retain and manage their property and contract their own earnings. She was perhaps the first to urge public playgrounds, was among the earliest to recognize health and sanitation as civic problems, established the first seamen's homes, and organized on what seem very modern lines the seaman's aid. It was an extraordinary career to which Mrs. Finley calls attention in this delightful reminder of what was the real task of the Victorian period in the United States.

Workers' Family Allowances. By DR. PIOTR PRENGOWSKI. Foreword by ELEANOR D. RATHBONE. London: Williams & Norgate, Ltd., 1931. Pp. 96. 3s. 6d.

This little book devotes sixty-four of its ninety-six pages to a general discussion of the determination of wages. It reviews in simple terms the leading wage theories of the economists and comes to the conclusion that "humanitarian—social and state—considerations, as well as considerations of a purely economic character, demand that the needs of the family should be taken into account when workers' wages are being considered." This leads easily enough to an advocacy of family allowances. Obviously in thirty pages there is room for no more than the barest outline of reasons in favor of the system and a rather summary dismissal of some arguments against it.

The Abolition of Poverty. By HARRISON E. FRYBERGER. New York: Advance Publishing Co., 1931. Pp. 152. \$1.50.

The author begins with the thesis that the doctrines of capitalism must be modified to suit present conditions. The first few chapters contain an admirable discussion of the maladjustments leading to the present crisis. The author thinks that production problems have been solved, and that they are far more difficult technically than problems of distribution which cause our present disorganization. He suggests excellent practical remedies.

The latter half of the book is in no way comparable to the first part. It contains the author's seemingly pet theories about communism, farm relief, prohibition, taxation, and war debts. The programs do not command the reader's respectful interest as does the first half of the book.

M. R. C.

The Slum. Its Story and Solution. By HARRY BARNES. London: P. S. King & Son, 1931. Pp. 398. 18s.

The author of *The Slum*, Mr. Harry Barnes, is a well-known British architect and the author of *Housing: The Facts and the Future*, published in 1923. In his new book he deals with the history of the so-called "slum problem" and his plans for its solution. He has written an interesting account of early attempts at control of low-standard housing areas, particularly the conditions following the Industrial Revolution in England and the effort to secure the public health board in 1848 and the sanitary improvements that followed it. The book also furnishes a very useful chronological account of housing reform in the last half of the nineteenth century—particularly such housing acts as the Cross and Torrens acts and the vigorous development that followed the establishment of the London County Council in 1889.

PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

Unemployment

- ✓ *Unemployment Relief.* Hearings before a Subcommittee, Committee on Manufactures, U.S. Senate, Seventy-second Congress, first session, on S. 174, a Bill to Provide for Co-operation by the Federal Government with the Several States in Relieving Hardship and Suffering Caused by Unemployment . . . and S. 262 for Assisting the Several States . . . To Provide for the Relief of the Unemployed. December, 1931, and January, 1932. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1932. Pp. 380. \$0.35.

Public Hearing on State-Wide Unemployment Relief before Members of the General Assembly in the Hall of the House, Tuesday, November 24, 1931. (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 1931). Pp. 52.

(Every social worker will want to study the "Federal Relief Hearings," copies of which should be in the office of every public or private agency in the country. After these "Hearings," Senate Bill 3045 was prepared on the basis of the two bills before the Committee, and this new bill in turn went down to defeat under administration opposition supported by conservative members of both political parties. The hearings afforded the representatives of our professional group an opportunity to set forth the needs of the distressed communities of this country and of the unfortunate clients they are unable to serve. The fact that social workers came from Chicago, New York, Buffalo, Philadelphia, and other cities to lay their serious community responsibilities before a Committee of the United States Senate and to support the plan for federal aid is a record that we are proud to have made.

In Senator Costigan's introductory statement, the hearings are quite properly said to be their own justification. They were held "to determine whether there is in truth unremedied need of national proportions with which local resources are unprepared, without national assistance, adequately to cope." The hearings were also to "consider the nature and extent of the existing economic calamity and what are the most effective steps and best administrative means for meeting our problems."

The vigorous testimony of some of the leading social workers of the country—William Hodson, Samuel Goldsmith, Prentice Murphy, Jacob Billikopf, Joanna Colcord, Paul Kellogg, Raymond Clapp, Walter West, Dorothy Kahn, and others—afforded abundant testimony of the present distress and the inability of the local authorities to prevent the suffering and misery that people are now enduring. We print in another part of this *Review* the valuable testimony offered by representatives of organized labor.

Mr. Walter S. Gifford, director of the President's Organization on Unemployment Relief, was a very extraordinary witness. He described the activities of his organization as follows:

It tried to get the national advertisers to donate space in magazines and to get some of the advertising agencies to write the copy to go into those magazines; it worked with the motion-picture people and got news releases sent out; it worked with the radio broad-casting companies and carried on a series of radio programs once a week during the period from October 19 to November 25, which was the period that we recommended that all these campaign funds, as far as practical, be carried on. What they did was to create a national sentiment, as far as possible to do so, in favor of everybody getting their shoulder behind the wheel to help and push this thing over to success this winter.

Mr. Gifford said that the President's Committee

collected no money itself whatsoever. It was simply a stimulating medium to do, on a national scale, things that no one of these community-chest drives or local drives could do for itself. No one community could get the national advertising scheme worked out; it could not get nation-wide broadcasting hook-ups arranged. We felt that the plan was extremely successful. I think the enthusiasm between October 19 and November 25 was quite real.

The "campaigns" that Mr. Gifford's Committee was responsible for "stimulating" were, he said, for the most part, the usual annual community chest drives with a small percentage increase to meet the present emergency needs.

When Mr. Gifford was asked about the total funds needed for unemployment relief "from the point of view of the Nation as a whole," he merely replied, "Well, I will not say I did not make any estimate for my own interest and amusement. I did make rough figures, but I do not know whether they are right or wrong, and I do not believe anybody else would know."

This was, of course, a very astonishing statement to come from the head of the President's National Committee that the country had been told would take care of the emergency needs. Later, when asked for data on which the number of those in need of assistance might be estimated, he said:

I do not think the data would be of any particular value. We are dealing with a rapidly changing situation. . . . It would take altogether a long time—perhaps months—to get the information for New York City alone. What I think should be done is to meet the needs as they come along and if the needs increase suddenly in New York City, increase the amount of money in New York City. . . .

SENATOR COSTIGAN: Will you tell us what you actually do know as head of the President's Unemployment Relief Committee as to present actual needs in the United States? Is your definite information as to unemployment needs confined to certain cities of the United States?

MR. GIFFORD: Well, I have no definite information, nor has any city definite information.

When asked about the standards of relief being given in the various communities, Mr. Gifford replied: "I can not give you any detailed information as to the standards, but my opinion is that they are fairly all right."

The misinformation on which Mr. Gifford's Committee apparently operated

is indicated by his statement about Chicago. He said (p. 318), "There has not been any government money appropriated by Cook County, the city of Chicago, or the State of Illinois. It is all private funds."

Mr. Gifford was absolutely wrong in this statement, as earlier testimony from Mr. Goldsmith had shown. Cook County (Chicago) spent between three and four million dollars last year in spite of the fact that it could not sell bonds. As Mr. Goldsmith said, "The Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare has not paid its milk bill for almost two years—giving milk to families in addition to other food commodities."

The following statements by the director of the President's Committee show the lack of information about the needs of the country on the part of this organization which the nation was told would provide for national distress.

SENATOR COSTIGAN: Do you know or does anyone else whom you can turn to know what the relief needs are in the smaller cities of the country which have no community chest organizations?

MR. GIFFORD: No; I do not know.

SENATOR COSTIGAN: Do you know what the relief needs are in the rural districts of the United States?

MR. GIFFORD: No.

SENATOR COSTIGAN: Your committee has not assembled information of that sort?

MR. GIFFORD: That is correct.

SENATOR COSTIGAN: First of all apparently you have made no survey of the national situation which justifies you in testifying before this committee as to what the immediate national needs are. Are you in a position to deal practically with the problem without knowledge of the facts?

MR. GIFFORD: If other people are dealing practically with the problem and satisfactorily, I think that is all right. . . .

SENATOR COSTIGAN: What has your own organization done with respect to meeting what is reported to us as being a growingly critical issue in America? Are you proceeding now to stimulate, as you said, by advertising and otherwise, the local spirit?

MR. GIFFORD: No; not right now, because most of these private drives are over; but as I told you, I telephoned every State representative within the last few days, and in most every case those men are in touch with the situation; and in some cases I had fairly long conversations, and they have gone back and talked to the governor, and we are keeping in touch with the situation [p. 322]. . . .

SENATOR COSTIGAN: Your organization has made no affirmative effort to tabulate the facts with respect to the human needs throughout the United States?

MR. GIFFORD: That is correct [p. 325]. . . .

SENATOR COSTIGAN: Are you among those who are satisfied that the grievous experiences through which many of our people have been passing are calculated to improve their health and well-being?

MR. GIFFORD: No; but curiously enough, Senator, my telephone company statistician gave me a report that it is true that in every depression since we have had public-health records, the records have shown improved health and lessened mortality. . . .

SENATOR COSTIGAN: May I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that it would be helpful if Mr. Gifford would file with us reports from the governors and State Committee chairman, on which these assurances appear to be based?

MR. GIFFORD: I have none, Senator.

SENATOR COSTIGAN: You recall, Mr. Gifford, that I wrote you early requesting such information as you have, as far back as November 3, 1931?

MR. GIFFORD: I had no real information then, Senator. We were just getting under way, and I think I wrote you I expected to have some information later [p. 331].

In general, however, one result of the "Hearings" is to show how antiquated our present system of relief is and how serious are the consequences of having no competently organized welfare department in every state with direct responsibility for relief policies instead of the old-fashioned isolated independent town and county systems that so few states have modernized. There are great areas of the country quite inarticulate as to their needs, and there is no competent spokesman for them. For example, in the Pennsylvania hearings listed above, there was said to be a difference of opinion among the members of the House as to the existence of a "state-wide need of relief."

The Pennsylvania hearings deal entirely with this question and not with questions relating to the program for meeting the need. The first fifteen pages of these hearings are devoted to the report prepared by the social workers of Pennsylvania for Governor Pinchot, which was published in the last number of this *Review*. Some extremely valuable testimony follows the report. The superintendent of public institutions, who said his plea was "for the maintenance of the standards of living of the Pennsylvania families," reported that no fewer than four hundred school districts were in a financial plight so serious that payment of school teachers could not go on without relief. He reported that 150,000 children were in need of adequate food and clothing as of September before "the onset of cold weather."

The secretary of the Pennsylvania department of agriculture said, "This is not an emergency, it is a catastrophe."

The secretary of the state department of health reported the results of a survey showing increased malnutrition among children and an increase in applicants at the state tuberculosis clinics. He reported that in 37 counties the money available for family relief was "pitifully insufficient" and the advent of winter would mean "acute suffering." The secretary of the department of welfare reported a story now told and retold in many places—smaller tax returns, greatly increased demands for relief, lowering of relief standards to make the money "go around." In 28 counties the average grant had been reduced to about three-fifths of the normal grant, which had been inadequate in normal times. A grant of \$2.00 or \$3.00 was now commonly made.

The rent question had become acute, with both public and private agencies generally refusing to pay rents.

The problem of rents has become acute throughout Pennsylvania. Both public and private agencies in most communities are unable or are refusing to pay rents on the belief that the depression will last only a few months. This policy has resulted in numerous evictions in some communities, with great hardship to the people involved. Can you imagine the disturbed and insecure feeling aroused in a district where people see their life-long neighbors and friends deprived of a roof over their heads? Such experiences only make for fear and restlessness and constant tension as to "who's next."

On the other hand, landlords as a whole have been extremely generous, with the result that social agencies frequently now report that they must care for people whose incomes from rented properties were their only source of income.

For example, one man in Pittsburgh, although he is getting relief, has eight tenants, none of whom have been able to pay their rent for months. He is now working in the streets as a day laborer. Another instance may be cited in Erie County where, because of the evictions of families, an abandoned almshouse, condemned some time ago because of inadequate water, heat, light and plumbing, was deemed unfit for human habitation is now being used to house entire families who have lost their homes. Furthermore, in Pennsylvania the loss of one's home frequently because of the existing law, means that the family loses all its furniture as well since it is possible for the landlord to hold such property against the debt incurred for overdue rent. No bidders on sales.

In spite of numerous indications on the part of Poor Boards of the effort to economize even to the danger point, in November of this year, 70 Poor Districts in 24 counties reported that they did not have enough funds to care for their dependents this winter [pp. 27-28].

The social workers of Pennsylvania deserve the thanks of our professional organization for having made known the situation in that state.

Family Welfare. Summary of Expenditures for Relief, General Family Welfare and Relief, Mothers' Aid, Veterans' Aid (U.S. Children's Bureau, Separate from Publication No. 209). By GLENN STEELE. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1932. Pp. 62. \$0.15.
Relief Expenditures by Governmental and Private Organizations, 1929 and 1931 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, Special Report). Pp. 35. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1932.

In July, 1930, the U.S. Children's Bureau assumed responsibility for carrying on the collecting of statistics from governmental and voluntary social agencies that had been instituted at the University of Chicago in 1928 under the joint direction of the University's Social Science Research Committee and the Association of Community Chests and Councils. The present report on activities of family welfare agencies by Glenn Steele, which is the first official annual report published since the transfer of the project to governmental auspices, vindicates the belief of the original sponsors that their work could safely be intrusted to the Children's Bureau.

In 1928, the first year of the undertaking, 211 family welfare agencies participated. Their number increased to 234 in 1929 and to 319 in 1930. Thus the evidence points toward a gradual extension of the uniform reporting system as the successive reports demonstrate the advantages of participation. Only 8 per cent of the family welfare agencies in the 38 metropolitan areas covered by the registration failed to submit figures in 1930.

The report for 1929 showed a sharp upturn of the relief curve following the autumn crash. Except for a slight seasonal recession, the curve continued to mount throughout 1930. The total amount expended in the 38 cities for direct

relief, exclusive of so-called "made work," was approximately \$28,000,000. The population of the area in which this money was spent is about 16,000,000.

Social workers will learn with special interest of the proportions in which this added burden was shared by the voluntary and the tax-supported agencies. The relief expenditures of the voluntary agencies show an increase in 1930 of 50 per cent over the expenditures in 1929. The increase for the tax-supported agencies was 61 per cent, if Detroit is omitted, or 176 per cent if Detroit is included. These ratios throw an interesting light upon the acumen of the President's Emergency Committee for Employment, which was instrumental in convoking a meeting of community chest executives in Minneapolis last summer for the purpose of inducing them to accept responsibility for meeting the winter's needs. The report for 1928 and 1929 had indicated that even in so-called normal years, the tax-supported agencies disburse about three-fourths of all relief; now the figures for the first year of the depression confirm this ratio. But it will doubtless be necessary to reiterate these findings for a number of years before there is widespread recognition that the voluntary agencies never have been and never will be able to cope with the problem of destitution.

The report contains an able, though brief, discussion of the difficulties encountered in computing dependency rates. It is still a common practice for two or more family welfare agencies to assist a single family simultaneously. Thanks to the social service exchange this is never in these days ignorant duplication but is rather the result of a community policy by which one agency supplements the efforts of another. Nevertheless, the results are disastrous from the standpoint of computing dependency rates, for the city's total thus contains an unknown proportion of duplicates. The Children's Bureau decided to base its dependency rates on the average number of families receiving relief monthly during 1930 on the theory that in this figure "the effect of duplications in the count is minimized." This was in all probability a sound decision, but no one should be content to accept it as a final one. At the present time in Chicago, to cite a single instance, there is evidence to indicate that 85 per cent of the relief cases of the largest voluntary agency are, by agreement, also relief cases of the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare. And, as every social worker knows, even in normal times, many of the relief cases of the private charities also are relief cases with the poor law authorities, at least to the extent of fuel and a few bags of beans and flour. There will never be dependency rates that are really satisfactory until communities either adopt a non-duplicating policy of allocation or follow the lead of St. Paul, Minnesota, in setting up a special piece of machinery for eliminating the duplicates occasioned by the policy of inter-agency supplementation.

If the report reveals that we must look for the most part to the tax-supported agencies for relief, it likewise provides evidence that the voluntary agencies are still the pacemakers with respect to standards of work.

In the matter of a case loads per worker, for example, every agency that approaches the standard suggested by the American Association of Social

Workers is a voluntary agency. In every public agency the case loads per worker are high and, in most of them, preclude the attainment of professional standards. In Chicago the average case load per worker in the public agency was 266 as compared with 26 per worker in one of the large voluntary agencies. On the other hand, so far as adequacy of relief is concerned, the figures provide no conclusive evidence with respect either to the general family welfare agencies or the veterans' aid organizations that money was more liberally expended by the voluntary agencies than by the tax-supported agencies. In about half of the cities the voluntary societies were more liberal than the public authorities and in the remaining areas the reverse was true.

The section of the report that deals with mothers' aid departments will be of special interest to social workers. The striking contrasts among the cities should provide ammunition in urging revision of present statutes. The highest average grant per family was \$72.28 in Springfield, Massachusetts, but this high standard seems less imposing when set beside the case load figure. Only 47 mothers in Springfield were beneficiaries of the pension fund. In Des Moines the average grant was only \$18.40 per month, but the number of mothers who benefited was large in comparison with other communities. Thus, as the report points out, "in some areas a thin spread of relief reached a relatively large number of families, and in other areas a higher standard of relief was given to relatively few families."

The interesting interpretative comment of the Children's Bureau report stands in marked contrast to the terseness of the Census Bureau publication. The latter consists chiefly of solid phalanxes of figures prefaced by a five-page statement of the terms of reference and an enumeration of the resources utilized in the investigation. "The purpose of this inquiry," says the opening sentence, "undertaken at the request of the President's Organization on Unemployment Relief, was to obtain, for comparison, data as to the expenditures for relief by organized agencies during the first three months of 1929 and during the same months of 1931. . . ."

It is difficult to understand why the President's Committee made such a request. Obviously the committee was aware that a considerable body of data was already at hand in the Children's Bureau. These data, it is true, afforded a sample that was undoubtedly deficient on the side of the rural situation, but it would have been simpler for the Children's Bureau to have obtained supplementary material from rural counties than to have imposed upon the Bureau of the Census a task of unfamiliar character. In either case the procedure would of necessity have been similar—correspondence with public welfare authorities, supplemented by the visits of field agents. But since most public welfare bodies have had more contact with the Children's Bureau than with the Bureau of the Census, it seems probable that they would have responded somewhat more readily to an appeal from the Children's Bureau. As it worked out, information was obtained from 1,716 out of 3,073 counties in the Continental United States.

The findings of the Bureau of the Census more than bear out the evidence presented by the Children's Bureau as to the mounting totals required for relief. In the area covered, an increase of \$51,000,000 over the first three months of 1929 appeared in the figures for the three months period of 1931. Unlike the Children's Bureau, the Bureau of the Census found a decrease in the proportion of the relief load that is borne by public agencies. Their figures are 65 per cent for 1929 and 60.4 per cent in 1931. However, the data are all in terms of total expenditures including administrative costs as well as direct relief and thus are not entirely comparable. Moreover, the American Red Cross distributed large sums in drought relief in the winter of 1930-31, and the inclusion of these expenditures in most of the stricken localities tended to magnify the disbursements of the private relief agencies.

Social workers will be unanimous in the hope that the orderly and regular collection of relief statistics will be vigorously carried forward by the Children's Bureau. It should not be necessary, in time of stress, to rely upon hasty and sporadic counts such as the Bureau of the Census was obliged to make for the use of the President's Committee.

A. W. McMILLEN

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Child Welfare in Selected Counties of Washington (U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 206). Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1931. Pp. 111. \$0.20.

This report, which is based on a study undertaken by the United States Children's Bureau at the request of the Washington State Conference of Social Work, brings out the need for increased public responsibility for the handicapped children of the state of Washington and for strengthening present legal enactments in their behalf. The study covers the resources for meeting the needs of dependent, delinquent, and other handicapped children of six representative counties, three of which are east of the mountain range dividing the state and the other three west of it. In each section a county was selected containing a large city, another with a distinctly rural population, and a third with a combined rural and small city population.

The report contains a statement with reference to the public provision for the care of children through state and county agencies and recommends a more adequate public welfare program in Washington. The report also contains an analysis of the major child welfare problems found in the six counties, as well as a detailed account of the social services of each county.

The Alleviation of Unemployment in Wisconsin. By DON D. LESCOHIER and FLORENCE PETERSON. Madison, Wis.: Industrial Commission of Wisconsin, 1931. Pp. 139. \$1.00.

This excellent study begins with analysis of growth of the employable population of Wisconsin from 1920 to 1930. It shows during the same decade no in-

crease in persons employed in factories. It suggests that the replacement of men by machines has not run its course since maximum application of scientific management has occurred in but few industries. It shows that unemployment due to seasonality has been greater in this decade than that caused by depression. It calls attention to the absence of comprehensive planning for industry comparable to what the state has encouraged in agriculture.

There follows careful analysis of unemployment relief in the state during 1930, its inadequacy, and the unwise distribution of the burden caused by meeting public relief from local and state funds secured through taxing personal property. Administration and disbursement of relief is shown to vary from the best established practices to medieval methods. Facts concerning administration of relief in fifteen counties are included.

The authors then discuss the make-work programs under way throughout the state. They propose not cash but credit reserves for public works during times of depression. Then follow chapters on what private management can do to stabilize industry, the Wisconsin citizens' committee on unemployment, the Industrial Commission, public employment offices, employment statistics, and unemployment insurance plans. The report is as valuable as it is timely.

M. R. C.

Public Social Services (Total Expenditure under Certain Acts of Parliament)
(Cmd. 3971). London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1931. Pp. 19. 4d.

This useful "white paper" always calls for careful scrutiny with each re-issue. American and British practice do not agree in including expenditures for education under "social services," but, omitting the education and general public health expenditures, the various social insurance expenditures are very large indeed. The 1930 expenditures included, in round numbers, \$225,000,000 for the Unemployment Insurance Acts, \$168,000,000 for health insurance, \$115,000,000 for widows', orphans', and old age contributory pensions, another \$155,000,000 for non-contributory old age pensions. These are large expenditures, and it is important that they are national expenditures which no local governmental unit has any power to omit or curtail. It is important also to note that none of these expenditures was being made in 1890; and in 1910 none was included except non-contributory old age pensions, and the expenditure for this purpose was then less than \$30,000,000 as compared with \$155,000,000 today. It is interesting that poor law expenditures have also increased from approximately \$40,000,000 in 1890 to \$73,000,000 in 1910 and to nearly \$200,000,000 last year. Look again at the total for all purposes; the expenditures increased from approximately \$20,000,000 in 1890-91 to \$55,000,000 two decades later, reaching \$355,000,000 in the two following decades. Such figures offer convincing proof, if any were needed, that there has been undeniable progress in lifting the standard of life.

